

A N

ANSWER

12d

TO

All that has ever been said, or insinuated

In Favour of a

Popish Pretender.

Exhibited in an

ABSTRACT

O F

The State of the PROTESTANTS
of *Ireland*, under King *James* the 2d's
Government. Written by Dr. KING,
now Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*.

L O N D O N,

Printed, and Sold by *A. Baldwin* in
Warwick-Lane. 1713.

Price One Shilling.

INTRODUCTION.

THE State of the Protestants of Ireland under King James II. drawn up by Dr. KING, now Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and licensed to be printed here in October 1691 by the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, then Secretary of State, is written with so thorough a Knowledge and full Comprehension of the Constitution and Laws of the British Monarchy in general, and of that Country in particular, upon such clear and abundant Information of all the Transactions it relates, and with such sound and useful Reasoning deduced from those Facts, that it can hardly fail of making a strong Impression on the Mind of all those who have really at Heart the Interests of the Church of England, and of the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover. To rouse such Mens Remembrance of King James the 2d's Actions and Designs, and to put them upon thinking forward, is the Intention of publishing the following Abstract of that most excellent Book: The Ground and Matter of which being Historical, I shall premise to it certain Passages chiefly Historical, which the Reader will consider and apply as he finds occasion.

THE Lord Bishop of SALISBURY, in the Preface to his *Volume of Sermons* newly publish'd in 8vo, having first enumerated divers Facts demonstrating That King James the 2d "had begun a total Subversion of our Constitution and Legislation, and given some Account of the Prince of Orange's Passage to England, in order to preserve them; proceeds thus:

"I pass over the whole Progress of the Prince's March, and come now to set out King James's Conduct, that indeed amazed all the World. When he saw the Turn the Nation was making, and the Disjoinings of his own Troops, and in his own Court, he sent three Lords to

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the Prince at *Hungerford*, to ask him what he demanded. To this the Prince, by the Advice of the Lords who had come into him, answer'd, That he desir'd the Law might take Place every where; that a free Parliament might be call'd; that no Army should come within 30 Miles of *London*; and that a Branch of the Revenue might be set off to pay his Troops. These were immediately sent to the King; who, when he read them, said, *They were better than he expected*. But now I must open a Scene that will shew what a sort of People Popish Priests, and a Jesuit at the Head of them, are.

THE Y all saw that nothing could save King *James* in a free Parliament, but the total delivering up of Popery, and the passing such Acts, as should be most effectual Bars to the return of Popery among us: So they, who resolv'd to sacrifice the King, and every Thing else, rather than see their Designs entirely blasted; studi'd first to fright the Queen, with the Apprehensions of somewhat Dismal, that She her Self, and her pretended Son, might look for: They also press'd the King with the Sense of the Dishonour that he must undergo, in submitting to the hard Terms that would be impos'd on him: And to both, they did so magnifie the Power and the Zeal of the *French King*, that that unhappy Prince came to be persuaded, that it was better to fly to him, than to stay at Home, and submit, as they call'd it, to a Victorious Prince, and an offended Parliament.

IN this they succeeded so well, that the Queen and her pretended Son went over, and then the King; tho' by the Demands of the Prince, which he receiv'd the Night before, he saw on what Terms he might be safe; yet he came to that ignominious Resolution, of flying away next Morning in Disguise: And having order'd the Great Seal to be left with him the Night before; that was thrown, as he pass'd the *Thames*, into the River; which being the great Instrument that sets all Things a-going in this Government; the throwing it away in such a manner, seem'd to shew a Resolution to Gov't no more by Law, if he should return, but by the SWORD.

THIS Inglorious Escape occasion'd the Accident at *Feversham*; but yet upon his Return to *Whitehall*, no mention was made of calling a Parliament.

THE Prince was then at *Windsor*, when the News of that was brought him; and upon that he ask'd the

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Opinions of the Lords about him. Some, who afterwards engag'd violently in the Jacobite Interest, advis'd the sending the King over to Holland a Prisoner, and the keeping him in the Castle of Breda, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an end. His Answer was, That tho' he could appear against the King as the Head of an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had him in his Power, he could not put him under any Restraint; and he knew the Princess could never enjoy herself, if any such thing were done. So he rejected these Suggestions with Indignation, and, indeed, with an Aversion to those who made them.

BUT it was judged necessary, that he (the Prince) should come quickly to *London*; and, to avoid all Quarrels, that there should be no Guards about Court, but those of one sort: So a Message was sent to the King, desiring him to withdraw to some House near *London*. *Ham* was named, as being very near; but the King choosing rather to go back to *Rochester*, he was left at full Liberty, to do what he pleas'd: And the Guards that attended on him, had positive Orders to restrain him in no sort, to hinder none from coming to him, and to obey him in every thing. All his Protestant Friends press'd him to stay, and to summon a Parliament; assuring him, that there was then a great Turn in the Minds of the City, and of the *English* Army; and that Pity and Compassion for him prevail'd then generally which was in a good Measure true. But he still adhered to his FIRST RESOLUTION, which in a few Days he executed in a second Escape.

Here was Desertion upon Desertion; and now the Nation was either to continue in an unsettled State, or to call him back, and throw ALL up to him, and be at MERCY: Or, they were to consider how to arrive at a Settlement as near the Constitution as was possible.

FROM France King *James* went to *Ireland*, there to begin his Attempts to recover his Dominions by Force. And the Reader will find what his Lordship says of the King's Resolution, to Govern no more by *Law*, if he should Return, but by the *Sword*, absolutely verified to the utmost Degree of Demonstration, by the whole Course and Tenour of his Actions in *Ireland*; of which there are innumerable Instances in the following Abstract of the State of Affairs of the Protestants of the Kingdom while that King was there.

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THE Rout at the *Bayne* obliging King *James II.* to fly from *Ireland* to *France* again; he designed to have made a Descent upon *England* in the Year 1692, with a Body of 20000 Men; but was prevented by the memorable Defeat of the French Fleet, and the burning of many of their Ships at *la Hogue*, by the now Earl of *Orford*; which was done in the Sight of King *James*, then at the Head of those Forces which were to have made the Descent. With what Disposition that King was coming over, at the Head of such a formidable Force, let the Reader judge by the Declaration he had prepared at *St. Germains* (while he was full of Hopes of succeeding in his Enterprise) to have been dispersed here at his Landing: 'Tis at large in his *Life*, printed in *Ottavo*, p. 396; and breathes the Language of a Prince who thought he was born to govern by uncontrollable Will, and that the People were not born to any other Rights than the Concessions of their Monarch: In short, there is not in it the least Acknowledgment, much less any Remorse, express'd for any former Misgovernment; as the following Passages from it may serve to shew.

Whereas the most Christian King in Pursuance of the many obliging Promises he has made us, of giving us his effectual Assistance for the Recovering of our Kingdoms, as soon as the Condition of his Affairs would permit, has put us in a Way of endeavouring it at this time, and in order to it has sent us so many Troops as may be abundantly sufficient to untie the Hands of our Subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their Duty, and repair to our Standard; and has notwithstanding for the present, according to our Desire (unless there should appear further Necessity for it) purposely declined sending out Forces so numerous, as might raise any Jealousy in the Minds of our good Subjects, of his intending to take the Work out of their Hands, or deprive any true *Englishman* of the Part he may hope to have in so glorious an Action, as that of restoring his Lawful King, and his ancient Government, (all which Foreign Troops, as soon as we shall be fully settled in the quiet and peaceable Possession of our Kingdoms, we do hereby promise to send back; and in the mean time to keep them in such exact Order and Discipline, that none of our Subjects shall receive the least Injury

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in their Persons or Possessions by any Soldier or Officer whatsoever.) Tho' an Affair of this Nature speaks for it self, nor do we think our selves at all obliged to say any thing more upon this Occasion, than, that we come to assert our own just Rights, and to deliver our People from the Oppression they lie under ; yet when we consider how miserably many of our Subjects were cheated into the late Revolution by the Art of ill Men, and particularly by the Prince of Orange's Declaration, which was taken upon Trust, and easily believed then, but since appears notoriously False in all the Parts of it, consisting no less of Assertions that have been evidently disprov'd, than of Promises that were not intended to be perform'd : To prevent these Delusions for the time to come, and to do as much as lies in our Power, to open the Eyes of all our Subjects, we are willing to lay the whole Matter before them, in as plain and short a manner as is possible, that they may not pretend Mistakes, or have Ignorance to plead for any false Steps they shall hereafter make, towards the Ruine of their own and their Country's Happiness.

AND therefore, to take the Matter from the Beginning, it cannot be forgotten, that as soon as we had certain Notice of the Prince of Orange's unnatural Design of Invading our Kingdoms, with the whole Power of the United Provinces, we first took the best Care we could to provide for our Defence ; which we seemed effectually to have done, when we had put our Fleet and Army into such a Condition, that tho' his most Christian Majesty, who well saw the Bottom of the Design against us, against himself, and indeed against the Peace of Europe, offered us considerable Succours both by Land and Sea, we did not think it at all necessary to accept 'em at that time, as resolving to cast our selves wholly (next to the Divine Protection) upon the Courage and Fidelity of our Englsh Army, which had been with so much Care and Tenderness formed and obliged by us. And having thus prepared to oppose Force to Force ; we did, in the next place, apply our selves to give all reasonable Satisfaction to the Minds of our good Subjects by endeavouring to undeceive them, and to let them see betimes, and whilst the Mischief might easily have been prevented, how fatal a Ruine they must bring upon

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upon their Country, if they suffered themselves to be seduced by the vain Pretences of the Prince of Orange's Invasion. However, so great was the Infatuation of that time that we were not belived till it was too late. But when he was obliged to throw off the Mask by Degrees, and that it began to appear plainly, that it was not the Reformation of the Government (which yet was a Matter that did not at all belong to him to meddle with) but the Subversion of it that he aimed at, that so he might build his own ambitious Designs upon the Ruins of the English Nation ; and when the Poison had insinuated it self into the vital Parts of the Kingdom, when it had spread over our whole Army, and so far got into our Court and Family, as not only to corrupt some of our Servants that were nearest our Person, and had been most highly obliged by us, but not even to leave our own Children at that time uninfected ; when our Army daily deserted on the one Hand, and on the other Hand Tumults and Disorders increased in all Parts of the Kingdom ; and especially when shortly after the Revolution came on so fast, that we found our selves wholly in our Enemies Power, being at first confined by them in our own Palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it under a Guard of Foreigners, we could not then but be admonished by the Fate of some of our Predecessors in the like Circumstances of the Danger we were in, and that it was high time to provide for the Security of our Person (which was happily effected by our getting from the Guard that was set upon us at Rochester, and our Arrival in France, the only Part in Europe to which we could retire with Safety) that so we might preserve our selves for better Times, and for a more happy Opportunity ; such as is that which, by the Blessing of God, is at present put into our Hands.

UPON what Foundation of Justice or common Sense, the Prince of Orange's Faction in England, were pleased to treat this Escape of ours out of the Hands of our Enemies, in the Stile of an Abdication ; a Word, when apply'd to Sovereign Princes, that was never before used to signify any thing but a free and voluntary Resignation of a Crown, as in the Cases of the Emperor Charles V. and the late Queen of Sweden ; and what a strange Superstructure they raised upon this.

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“ this weak Foundation, that a Company of Men ill-
“ gally met together, who had not Power, even by
“ their own Confession, at that Time (for it was before
“ they had voted themselves a Parliament) to charge
“ the Interest of the meanest Subject; should yet take
“ upon them to destroy the whole Constitution of the
“ Government, to make an ancient hereditary Monarchy
“ turn Elective; and then, assuming to themselves the
“ Right of Election, should proceed to settle the Success-
“ sion in so odd and extravagant a manner, are Trans-
“ actions that need not be repeated, they are too well
“ known to the World, to the great Reproach of the
“ English Nation, and the Grounds upon which they
“ are built, are too vain and frivolous to deserve a Con-
“ sultation. Every Freeholder of *England* is, in this
“ Case, able to make his own Observations, and will,
“ no doubt, examine a little better than hitherto he has
“ done, what Assurance any private Man can have of
“ keeping his Estate, if the King himself shall hold his
“ Crown by no better Title.

A F T E R the Defeat of the *French* Fleet at *la Hogue* in 1692, King *James* could never offer to renew any more his Attempts to recover his Dominions by an armed Force, but lay quiet in *France* till his Death. About 4 Years before which, Peace being made between *Great Britain* and *France*, and King *William* solemnly acknowledg'd by that Treaty, King *James* set forth a *Protest* against it, as an Injustice done to him, a Violation of his Right, and null.

THE Death of King *James* II. in 1701, and the King of *France*'s acknowledging his (pretended) Son for King of *Great Britain*, are related with Circumstances too remarkable to be passed over, in the Circular Letter, written from the Monastery of *Chaillot*, July 1, 1702, and printed at *Paris* by Order of the Chancellor, viz.

“ O N Friday, the 24 of September, his Majesty being taken ill at Chapel, was carried into his Apartment: And on Sunday following He order'd the Prince of *Wales* to be call'd to him, believing it was the last time he shou'd see him. The King embrac'd him tenderly, and spoke to him thus: My Son, I have but four Words to say to you, besides giving you my Blessing, which I do with all my Heart: Be a good *Catholick*; Fear God; Obey the Queen

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“ your Mother ; and be always attach’d to the King of France.

“ HIS Majesty seeing the Pope’s Nuncio come into the Room, express’d great Joy, and said with a firm Voice, I pray you assure the Pope of my profound Respects: Tell him I die a Son of the Church ; and if it please God to restore my Life, it should be to serve Him and the Church better than I have done.

“ THE Queen scarce ever went from him in his Extremity : But the King seeing her Majesty in Tears, said to her, Madam, adieu : Don’t afflict your self for me ; I am going to be happy. The Queen answer’d, ‘Tis not your Condition, Sir, that I Lament, but my own. To which his Majesty reply’d, That he did not doubt but the King of France, with whom he had found so kind, so constant, and so honourable a Place of Refuge, wou’d take as much care of his Family as of his own.

“ TWO Days before his Death, the King of France came to see him for the last Time. His Majesty went first to the Queen’s Apartment, and declared to her, that he had resolv’d, if it was God’s Will to dispose of the King her Husband, to acknowledge the Prince of Wales for King of England. The Queen sent for the young Prince, that he might return Thanks to his Majesty : Having saluted the King at his first entring, he turn’d towards the Queen : She told him what the King had just declar’d in his Favour. His most Christian Majesty then confirm’d it, expressing himself in these Words, Sir, You are going to lose the King your Father, but you shall always find one in me ; and I will consider you as my own Child. The Prince throwing himself at the King’s Feet, answer’d him thus ; I will always have, Sir, for your Majesty the same Respect as for the King my Father : I will never forget what I owe you ; and I will retain all my Life, and in all Places, all manner of Gratitude and Acknowledgment.

“ HIS most Christian Majesty went then to the next Apartment, where the King lay, and approaching very near to him stoop’d low, that he might be the better heard by the King. The Servants withdrew out of Respect ; but his most Christian Majesty told them, That he would have all the World hear him : I am come, Sir, said he, to inform my self of the State

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“ State of your Health, and to assure you, that if it
“ shall please God to dispose of your Majesty, I will ac-
“ knowledge and entertain the Prince your Son, as King of
“ England; and will always have for him the same Re-
“ gard that I have had for You; and hope to see him so us’d
“ by all the World. At the sametime there was a con-
“ fus’d Noise of Praises, Applause, and Tears, which
“ prevented the hearing distinctly what Answere was
“ made by the King: And his most Christian Majesty
“ being a Second time oppres’d with Sorrow, and no
“ longer able to refrain from Weeping, bid adieu to
“ the dying King, and retir’d.

“ THE next Day his Majesty saw the Prince of
“ Wales and the Princess his Sister for the last time,
“ and recommended it again to the Prince, To be
“ faithful to God, and to his Religion; always ob-
“ edient to the Queen, and to remember all his Life
“ the Obligations which he had to the King of France.
“ And the Day following, being the 16th of Septem-
“ ber 1701, he render’d his Soul to God.

IT may not be improper here to add, that much about the same time, when the Pretender congratulated the then Duke of Anjou upon his taking on him the Crown of Spain, that Prince answere, *He hoped in a while to congratulate him also on his Accession to the Throne of his Ancestors.* This, I say, may not be improper to be taken Notice of, because in Her Majesty’s Declaration of War against France and Spain in 1702, there are these Words, ‘ *Whereas the French King (to his other Proceedings mentioned in the said Declaration) has added, a great Affront and Indignity to Us, and our Kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has also INFLUENCED SPAIN to CONCUR in the same Affront and Indignity, as well as in his other Oppressions: We find our selves obliged, for vindicating the Honour of our Crown. &c. to declare War against France and SPAIN.* ’ Whether by the Treaty of Peace made with King Philip of Spain, there be any such Articles relating to the Pretender, or to the Succession settled by Act of Parliament in the House of Hanover, as there are said to be in the Treaty with France, I cannot yet learn, those Treaties not being published yet, nor can I tell whether it be at all necessary that there should be such Articles in the Treaty with Spain,

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Spain, as well as with France: But 'tis already publickly known that the Pretender has sent to Utrecht a Protest in Form against the Peace negotiated there; declaring, among other things, these that follow.

• SINCE we have understood that the Confederate Princes have no Regard to our Right, we thought our selves most indispensably obliged, to our selves, our Posterity and Subjects, to endeavour as much as in us lies, not to have it thought by our Silence that we consent to what may be transacted to the Prejudice of us, and the Lawful Heirs of our Kingdoms.

• THEREFORE, we solemnly, and in the best Form we can, protest against all that may be agreed or stipulated in Prejudice of us, as being void by all Laws in the World, for want of Lawful Authority.

• AND by these Letters seal'd with our Great Seal, we reserve entire to our selves all our Rights and Claims, and declare that they are and shall be Safe and Entire.

• IN the last place, we protest before God and Men, that we shall be free from all Blame, and that the Cause of those Calamities, which the Injury already done us, or that may be done us hereafter, may bring upon our Kingdoms, and all Christendom, cannot be imputed to us. Given at St. Germains, April 25, A.D. 1712, and of our Reign the 11th. J. R.

AS at the Entrance of this Introduction, a Passage is quoted from the Lord Bishop of SALISBURY's Preface to his *Sermons*, so it cannot be better closed than with the following Passage from his Lordship's Preface to his *Pastoral Care*, in which his Reasoning is apparently as just, as his Assertion in the other is demonstrably true.

IT cannot be denied but the Appearance is formidable, when we see that Prince who has engaged the longest and the deepest in the Design of Extirpating our Religion, get out of all his Troubles, and accomplish his vast Desir'd, that seemed once to be so blasted, that they could not be retrieved: Another Scene is now opening to him that Promises all he can wish for, and must bring such an Accumulation of Power and Treasure to him, that humanly speaking, Nothing can stand in his Way: When a great Alliance is once quite dissolved, and when a Word so often broken, and Edicts so often violated, are trusted to and relied on; such

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such an unexpected Turn will no doubt be constru'd
as a Reward from Heaven for his Zeal against Heresy :
And may very probably encourage him to finish who
he has done at home, by bringing us under the same
Calamity.

WE know what Engagements he lies under to a
dying Prince ; but we cannot know how far his Bigot-
try may even out-do these, when he finds himself at
the Height of Power and Wealth that he is almost
possessed of ; Promises and Oaths can work but feebly
on one so accustomed to break through them.

WHEN not only Dispensations but Solicitations
from Rome, with the Practices of a Confessor, the
View of that Glory that the Work must bring him on
Earth, with the imaginary View of a more eternal
Weight of Glory in Heaven, concur ; what may not
be apprehended from thence ? Chiefly when such of
that Religion, whose Interests obliged them hitherto
to join in preserving us, seeing these all abandoned and
blasted, may either be at best indifferent Spectators, or
the Bigotry that surrounds them may be quickned, by
a Desire of revenging what they will call the Giving
them up, to concur in compleating our Ruin, which in
such a State of Things cannot reasonably be thought
to be far from us. Besides, if an avowed Departing from
the sacred Ties of *Treaties* and *Alliances* is once openly
practic'd, it may prove a fatal Precedent. Such Max-
ims are catching and contagious. The Woe denounced
by the Prophet against those that *deal treacherously*
when they are not dealt treacherously with, that *when*
they shall make an End to deal treacherously they shall
be dealt treacherously with, may come heavily with a
Face of Retribution, and without Pity.

BEFORE I take Leave of the Reader, 'tis fit to
acquaint him, that this Abstract of Archbishop KING's
Book, is not made because that Book is either tediou-
or redundant : On the contrary, 'tis hoped this Abstract
may incite the Publick to call for a new Impression of
that Book it self ; which is in all Respects so very valua-
ble, that 'tis Pity there is not an Act for obliging all
Churchwardens to keep one lying open in every Parish-
Church. Our Ancestors formerly ordered the Book of
Martyrs and others to be kept so ; because they were sensi-
ble that our Nation is extremely subject (I had almost
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concerned to remember.

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THE

STRAIGHT

The STATE of the
 PROTESTANTS
 OF
 IRELAND
 UNDER

King James the II's Government.

IT is easy to demonstrate, That every Roman Catholick King, if he throughly understand his Religion, and do in Earnest believe the Principles of it, is obliged, if he be able, to destroy his Protestant Subjects ; and that nothing can excuse him from doing it but want of Power. This is plain from the third Chapter of the fourth *Lateran* Council, and from the Council of *Constance*, in the Bull that confirms it ; read in the 45 Session. If therefore a Popish King can persuade his Protestant Subjects to submit to him, whilst he doth it, he is obliged by his Principles to destroy them, even when they are the greater Part and Body of his Subjects. Now King James was (as is known to all the World) a most zealous Roman Catholick, and ingaged with that Party of them, that most zealously assert and practise this Doctrine of rooting out Hereticks. He gave himself up intirely to the Conduct and Guidance of Jesuits ; these were the Governors and Directors of his Conscience, and he seemed to have no other Sentiments, than such as they inspired into him. If then these have prevailed with the French

King (whom some report to be a merciful Man in his own Nature, and certainly a mighty Zealot for his Honour) to break his most solemn established Laws, violate his repeated Declarations and Oaths, and, in spite of all these, to persecute and destroy his Protestant Subjects; is not King *James's* being of the same Principles, and under the Government of the same Directors of Conscience; is not his Fondness of *France*, and his Alliance with it; his affecting to imitate that King in every thing, and, above all, his prosecuting the same, if not worse, Methods towards the Protestants in *Ireland*, than the King of *France* did with the *Hugonots* in his Dominions, a clear and full Proof of both Kings being in the same Design, to root out not only the Protestants of these Kingdoms, but likewise of all *Europe*? and that we must all have expected the same Usage our Brethren met with in *France*?

NOR could our King's Promises and Engagements be any greater Assurances to us, than those of the French King were to his Subjects. It is observable, that King *James* was more than ordinarily liberal in his Promises and Declarations of Favour towards Protestants. He boasted in a Declaration sent to *England*, and dispersed by his Friends there, dated *May 8. 1689.* at *Dublin*, That his Protestant Subjects, their Religion, Privileges and Properties, were his especial Care since he came into *Ireland*. He often professed, That he made no Distinction between them and Roman Catholicks, and both he here, and his Party there, did much extol his kind Dealings with his Protestants in *Ireland*. But Dr. *Cartwright*, one of his Instruments, gives us a right Notion of King *James's* Promises, in his Sermon at *Rippon*, where, in Effect, he tells us, That the King's Promises are Donatives, and ought not to be too strictly examined or urged, and that we must leave his Majesty to explain his own Meaning in them. This Gloss pleased King *James* so well, that he rewarded the Author with the Bishoprick of *Chester*, tho' very unfit for that Character; and shewed in all his Actions that he meant to proceed accordingly: And the Humour run through the whole Party; whenever they were at a Pinch, and under a Necessity of serving themselves

by

by the Assistance or Credulity of Protestants, they promised them fair, and stuck at no Terms with them ; but when their Turn was served, they would not allow us to mention their Promise, much less to challenge the Performance.

FROM the very Beginning of the *French* Persecution, the Papists of *Ireland* began to shew their Fondness of that Monarch ; and as their Love to him commenced with that Persecution, so it increased in Proportion to his Barbarity, and they could never speak of it without Passion and Transport. But after King James came to the Crown, they openly declared that they liked no Government but that of *France* ; and that they would make the King as absolute here as that King was there.

IN Answer to this we told them, That the Laws were on our Side, and the King had promised to govern according to Law, and to protect our Church and Liberties ; but they laught at our Credulity, and pișt at the Laws as meer Trifles. For the Truth of all which I may refer my self to almost as many Protestants as were then in *Ireland*, there being few but were Witnesses of such Discourses : And the King's Conduct towards us was such, as left no Room for us to doubt but that these People knew his Mind, and that all his Promises and Declarations in our Favour, were perfectly copied from the *French* King's Declarations to preserve the Edict of *Nantes*, and of as little Sincerity ; and that notwithstanding these, he had as fully determined our Ruin, as that King had resolved the voiding the Edict of *Nantes*, when he made his solemn Declarations to the contrary.

IT was both King James's Misfortune, and his Subjects, that he employed very few of sober Sense and Experience about him ; whether it was that he could not get Men of Sense to go through with him in all things that he would have done, or whether it proceeded from the Servility observable in dull People, whereby they flatter and gain on Princes. But however it was, it was remarkable in King James that dull

heavy Men kept his Favour longer, and more steddy, than Men of Seise and Parts ; and he generally chose out the most unfit and most uncapable for Preferments. It is plain, that even in *England* he designed the Army should be supplied with *Irish* ; and this Project went farther than the Army, he was filling the Burroughs and Corporations with them also.

THE Instruments King *James* used to carry on his Design, were not only very poor and insufficient for their Places, but they were likewise Men fit to be employed in ill Designs ; and it is hardly credible, how rare it was to find amongst them a Man that had ordinary moral Honesty. It is true, they seemed to make Conscience of hearing Masses, and not eating Flesh on Fridays, but hardly of any thing else. To have been always reckoned a Knave, was no Exception or Bar to any Man's Preferment amongst them ; they declared they must make use of such. Those that were infamous whilst the Government was in the Hands of Protestants, for Forgeries, Perjuries, Robberies, and Burglaries, were all indifferently employed by them. That some such should be admitted into the Army, is not so much to be wondred at ; but that honest Gentlemen should be turned out to make Room for them was intolerable ; and yet not only the Army, but even the Courts of Justice were filled with such.

THERE was another sort of People had mighty Favour with them, I mean Converts to their Religion, who, both Men and Women, became infamous by very notorious Wickedness, the Men by Murthering, Forgery, Perjury, Robbery, Swearing, and Cursing, and the Women by Lewdness and prostituting themselves ; yet those of both Sexes were cherished and encouraged amongst them, and for being Converts were in special Request, and next in the Way to Preferment.

IN *Ireland*, before it was conquered by the *English*, the Heads of *Septs*. were absolute over their Tenants ; their Wills passed for Laws, and all their Proceedings were meerly arbitrary and despotic. The

was the ancient Constitution of *Ireland*; and the *English*, who came over at first, had, by their Conversation with the *Irish*, learn'd much of their Manners. They made their Tenants Vassals and Slaves, as much as the *Irish* had been to their Chiefs; except in the *English* Pale, (which was a Scope of Ground that reached about twenty Miles from *Dublin*); and even in some Places there, the Tenures of the Country Farmers were exactly that which the Law of *England* calls Villenage, the Tenant having nothing he could properly call his own. Whatever the Landlord had Occasion for, he sent to his Tenant's House, and caused it to be brought to him without Consideration or Allowance; or, if he pleased, he went to the Tenant's House with his Retinue, and there staid as long as he thought fit, eating and drinking, and using every thing the Tenant had as his own. This Practice was called *Coshering*, and several Laws have been made against it.

THE old Landlords that had not forfeited their Estates in 1641, still kept up this Way of dealing with their Tenants, tho' secretly; and were so burthensome to them by their Exactions and *Cosherings*, that the Tenants were miserable and poor, and their Estates unimproved; whereas the *English*, and those that had *English* Education, and took to their Manner of Living, were content with their Rents from their Tenants, who by that Means were able to live well, grow rich, and improve their Farms.

BUT many of the old Landlords lost their Estates by Outlawries and Attainders, for their Rebellion in the Year 1641, and for their murthering the Protestants at that Time. Many of them had sold their Estates, and some had mortgaged them for more than their Value two or three times to several Persons; a Practice very common in *Ireland*. But it is observable, that it is the Humour of these People to count an Estate their own still, tho' they have sold it on the most valuable Considerations, or have been turned out of it by the most regular Proceedings of Justice; so that they reckon every Estate theirs, that either they or their Ancestors had at any Time in their Possession, no Matter how many Years ago. And by their pretended Title and

Gentility, they have such an Influence on the poor Tenants of their own Nation and Religion, who live on those Lands, that these Tenants look on them still, tho' out of Possession of their Estates, as a kind of Landlords, maintain them after a Fashion in Idleness, and entertain them in their *Cofhering* Manner. These Vagabonds reckoned themselves great Gentlemen, and that it would be a great Disparagement to them to betake themselves to any Calling, Trade, or Way of Industry; and therefore either supported themselves by stealing and torying, or oppressing the poor Farmers, and exacting some kind of Maintenance, either from their Clans and Septs, or from those that lived on the Estates to which they pretended. And these pretended Gentlemen, together with the numerous *Cofhering* Popish Clergy that lived much after the same Manner, were the two greatest Grievances of the Kingdom, and more especially hindred its Settlement and Happiness. The Laws of *England* were intolerable to them both, nor could they subsist under them.

AS to the Popish Landlords, who yet retained their Estates, it put them out of all Patience, to find that the Bodvugh their Tenant (so as they call the meaner sort of People) should have equal Justice against them, as well as against his Fellow *Churl*; that a Landlord should be called to an Account for killing or robbing his Tenant, or ravishing his Daughter, seemed to them an unreasonable Hardship. It was unsufferable to Men that had been used to no Law but their own Will, to be levelled with the Meanest in the Administration of Justice; and every Time they were crossed by a Tenant that would not patiently bear their Impositions, they cursed in their Hearts the Laws of *England*, and called to Mind the glorious Days of their Ancestors, who, with a Word of their Mouths, could hang or ruin which of their Dependants they pleased, and had in themselves the Power of Peace and War.

THIS Humour in the Gentry of *Ireland* has from Time to Time been their Ruin, and engaged them in frequent Rebellions, being impatient of the Restraint the Laws of *England* put on their Power, tho' they enjoy'd their Estates; and they still watched an Opportunity

inity to restore themselves to their petty Tyrannies, and were ready to buy the Restitution of them at any Rate. The other sort of Gentlemen I mentioned, as they called themselves, who were outed of their Estates, as well as of their Power, by the same Laws, hated them yet worse ; and their Clergy pus'd them on with all the Arguments that ignorant Zeal or Interest could suggest ; insomuch that all sober Men, as well as Protestants, reckoned these the sworn Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom ; and were assured, that they would stick at no Conditions to destroy them, their Interest, Inclination, and Principles all concurring to engage them to do it.

NOW these very Men were the Officers and Instruments King *James* employed and trusted above all others. He espoused their Interest from the Time that he had Thoughts of the Crown ; they were his Favourites and Confidants, and to provide for them he turn'd his *English* and Protestant Subjects, first out of the Army, then out of their Civil Trusts and Employments, and lastly out of their Fortunes and Estates. He knew very well, that the Tempers and Genius of those Men were at Enmity to the Laws, and fitted for that Constitution of Slavery, under which he designed to bring the Kingdoms. He found that none were more fawning to their Superiors than they, nor did any flatter with more Meanness and Servility : And according to the Nature of such People, none are more insolent and tyrannous to their Inferiors. And this was the Reason that they were so dear to King *James*, and that he preferred and trusted them rather than his Protestant and *English* Subjects. The Bargain between him and them was plainly this, *Restore us to our former Power, Estates, and Religion, and we will serve you as you please, in your own Way* : An Expression that King *James* and all his Creatures often used, and were very fond of.

THESE People found, that the King's Legal Power could never restore them to the Condition at which they aimed ; that the Power and Station they desired was absolutely contrary to the Laws in being ; and that no Legal Parliament would ever alter the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom to gratify them. No

Wondēt therefore if they espoused and promoted an absolute and despotic Power in the King, and if he and they concurred so heartily to introduce it. To do them Justice, they made no Secret of it, but professed it publickly, and on all Occasions, and accordingly practised it in their several Stat'ons. They reckoned, and called every one a *Whig* and *Rebel*, that talked of any other Law than the *King's Pleasure*. They were liberal of their Curses and Imprecations on all Occasions ; but they exceeded and became outragious against any one that durst alledge that their Proceedings were against Law : *Damn your Laws*, was frequently their Word, *it is the King's Pleasure it should be so* : *We know no Reason why our King should not be as absolute as the King of France, and we will make him so before we have done.*

TIS further to be remembred, that their Predeces-sors were so eager and earnest to recover this Power over their Vassals, and to establish their Religion, that they attempted to gain their Designs by that bloody Re-bellion and Massacre in the Year 1641 : An Attempt no less desperate and unlikely to succeed than wicked ; and when their own Power appeared insufficient to gain their Ends, their supreme Council at *Killkenny* sent Commissioners with Instructions to offer up the King-dom and themselves to the Pope, the King of *Spain*, or any other foreign Popish Prince that would accept the Offer. This was very well known to King *James* ; he was at the Council-Board when the original Instructi-ons, signed by order of the Supreme Council that then managed the Affairs of the Roman Catholicks of *Ire-land*, were produced before King *Charles II.* and his Council in *England*, in the Year 1662, empowering their Agents to this Effect ; and he might very well conclude, that they who were willing to submit them-selves to a foreign Power, to be rid of the Laws of *England*, wculd heartily join with him to destroy them.

W H O S O E V E R will consider Circumstances, and lay things together, will be apt to believe what is averred by some, that King *James*, before he declared his Religion, had a Desire and Resolution to destroy the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, and make himself

himself absolute, if ever he came to the Crown, after the Manner of *France*; and that the great Motive of declaring himself a Roman Catholick at first, was to make sure of that Party. There are severall things that rightly weighed will make this probable.

1. AMONGST Papists he chose out those, and preferred them which he thought would be most cordial to him, and serve him most effectually in that Design. There can be no other Reason given, why he should be fonder of the *Irish* than the *English* Papists, but that he thought the one more likely to go through with him than the other. The *English* Papists are as zealous in their Religion as the *Irish*, and generally more honest Men, yet the King rather chose to cherish and employ the latter. The only imaginable Reason of his doing so was because the *English* were not so ready to give up the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom to the Prerogative as the *Irish*; and since King James's Kindness was distributed according to the Readiness he found in Men to betray their Country, rather than according to their Zeal for their Religion, have we not Reason to conclude the first to be the true Motive of his Kindness rather than the latter?

2. THOSE Protestants, or pretended Protestants, that cordially and heartily espoused this Design, and served him effectually to oppress and ruin their Fellow-Subjects, kept his Favour pretty well, and were employed by him, notwithstanding their being reputed Protestants; a certain Sign that the Reason he discharged Protestants from their Trusts and Offices, was chiefly because he thought they would not serve him, as he expressed it, *without Reserve*, or contribute heartily to in-flame themselves and their Posterity.

3. HE often declared, and more especially in his *Act for Liberty of Conscience*, made in his Parliament in *Ireland*, that it was his constant Resolution that there should be no other Test or Distinction amongst his Subjects but that of Loyalty; by which all knew that he meant an absolute Submission in every thing to his Will; for he accounted every Body disloyal that disputed or demurred at any of his Commands.

4. AS soon as the *Irish* began to dispute his Orders, and stand on the Laws, he took it hainously from them, and they lost much of his Favour; he spake hardly of them, and wished at any Rate to be rid of them: When the House of Commons crost some Proposal of his, he was very much out of Humour, and declared that all Commons were the same, as he found by them: When they quarrelled with the Earl of *Melford*, his Secretary of State, he complained that they used him basely and unkindly, and that he never would come amongst them if he had thought that they would not let him chuse his own Servants: When they would not suffer him to dispense with their *Act of Attainder*, or pardon any attainted in it, with a *non obstante*, he is said to have fallen into so violent a Passion that his Nose fell a bleeding. He was very angry with some of his Council when they demurred at his levying twenty thousand Pounds *per Month* without *Act of Parliament*, and said he could do nothing if he could not do that. From whence we see, that he reckoned all his Power nothing except he could impose Taxes as the King of *France* doth; and that this lay at the Bottom of all his Designs. If then his chiefest Design was to oppres our Laws and Liberties, no Body can doubt but he had Instruments whose Genius and Temper inclined them to assist him, as long as they were like to go Sharers with him in the Purchase.

IT is certain, that if the Protestants of these Kingdoms could have believed that King *James* would have attempted what he did, they would never have entered into such Feuds against their Fellow-Subjects and Friends to prevent his Exclusion. But their Zeal for the Monarchy and Succession, made them willing to overlook the Danger; and they persuaded themselves, that the Absurdity and Difficulty of the thing, would keep him, if he came to the Crown, from attempting it, notwithstanding they knew that his Principles inclined him, and his Counsellors would prompt him to it. I question much if any thing but sad Experience would ever have opened the Eyes, or convinced the Generality of these Nations, that his Designs were such as we found

found them in the Event : And perhaps it is worth all our Sufferings, though very heavy, to have learned (as we have done) by this Example, never to trust Men of King *James's* Principles and Religion with a Power that may destroy us ; since it appears in him, that no Interest, Difficulties, or Obligations are sufficient to hinder such from employing that Power to effect it. No Man could be under deeper Obligations to use his Power with Moderation than King *James* was ; yet in the short Time he possessed it, he employed it with so much Diligence and Earnestness to destroy us, that he in a great Measure accomplished it ; and we must thank God only, and King *William's* victorious Arms, that saved us from a total and final Destruction, to which we were so manifestly devoted. To make this appear, it will be necessary to take a short View of the State of *Ireland*, at, and since, King *James's* coming to the Crown, and by the Alteration he introduced, it will plainly appear what he designed. At his coming to the Crown *Ireland* was in a most flourishing Condition : Lands were every where improved, and Rents advanced to near double what they had been in a few Years before ; the Kingdom abounded with Money, Trade flourished, even to the Envy of our Neighbours ; Cities, especially *Dublin*, increased exceedingly ; Gentlemens Seats were built, or building every where, and Parks, Enclosures, and other Ornaments were carefully promoted ; insomuch that many Places of the Kingdom equalled the Improvements of *England*. The Papists themselves, where Rancour, Pride, or Laziness did not hinder them, lived happily, and a great many of them got considerable Estates, either by Traffick, by the Law, or by other Arts and Industry.

UPON King *James's* coming to *Ireland*, the Protestants had entertained some favourable Hopes, that he would have seen, and been convinced of his Errors of Government in *England*, and would now at last govern himself by other Measures. It was manifestly his Interest to have done so, and nothing in Probability could have allayed the Heats of *England* and *Scotland* so much as his Justice and Kindness to the Protestants of *Ireland* ; nor could any thing have had so much the Appearance of

of an Answer to those many and evident Arguments, by which they demonstrated his destructive Designs against those Kingdoms, as to have had it to say, that in *Ireland*, where it was in his Power, he was far from doing what they surmised he intended to do in *England*; or if he had ever any such Intentions, it was plain he had now altered them. These things were laid before him by some that wish'd well to his Affairs, and had more Prudence than his furious and bigotted Counsellors; and sometimes they seemed to make Impressions on him; but the Priests and needy Courtiers, who had swallowed in their Imaginations the Spoils and Estates of the Protestants of *England*, as well as of *Ireland*, could not endure to hear of this; and seemed mightily afraid lest he should be restored to his Throne by Consent of his Protestant Subjects. However his Counsellors were not so weak, but they saw what Disadvantage his dealing with the Protestants had on his Interest in *England*, and therefore they took Care to conceal it as much as possible: They stopped all Intercourse as far as they could with *England*; they had a Party to cry up the Mildness of King *James's* Government towards the Protestants; to applaud the Ease, the Plenty, the Security in which they lived, and to run down and discredit all Relations to the contrary that came from *Ireland*. These endeavoured to persuade the World, that there was no such thing as a Bill of Attainder, or of Repeal; no Act taking away the Preferments or Maintenance of the Clergy, nor any Imprisonment or plundering of Protestants; no taking away of Goods by private Orders of the King, or levying of Monies by Proclamations. In short, they did that which on all Occasions is the Practice, and indeed the Support of Property. They endeavoured to face down plain Matter of Fact with Forehead and Confidence, and to persuade the World, that all these were meer Forgeries of King *James's* Enemies. In short, the Design entertained by him and his Party required the Ruin of Protestants, and of their Religion; whereas his Interest required, that it should not be believed that he designed either; and therefore Care was taken to prosecute the Design with all Eagerness, and deny the Matter of Fact with all Impudence;

pudence ; and his Majesty took Care to promote both : For he ruined the Protestants of *Ireland* by his Acts of Parliament, and by the other Methods we shall hereafter speak of ; and by his Proclamations sent privately into *England*, to his Partisans there, assured the World, That the Protestant Religion and Interest were his especial Care, and that he had secured them against their Enemies.

KING James had no Desire to be served by Protestants, as was manifest by his turning many out, for no other Reason, but because they would not change their Religion. By preferring Papists to all Places of Trust and Profit, though not so deserving or well qualified for them as those that possessed them. By his declaring, that he would have all that did eat his Bread, of his own Religion. If therefore he employed any, it was for a Colour, either to cover his Partiality, or because he could not find a Papist fit for their Places, or because he believed that in time he might gain them to be of his Religion ; or, lastly, because he had some odious Work to do, which he thought he could the better excuse, if he could get a Protestant to do it. Where these Reasons ceased, he never employed any. But it is observable, where he did employ them, though their Places were considerable, yet they never had the Interest with him, or Power proper to their Place, but were meer Cyphers in it. Thus he made Sir Edward Herbert Chancellor of *England*, and caused a Seal to be cut for him ; but he never allowed him that Interest with him, or had that Regard for him in Councils that his Place required. The puny Papist Judges had more Influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he ; he was not admitted to the Secret of Affairs at all, and at the publick Councils he was set below Fitton, Chancellor of *Ireland*, and several others ; whom, I am informed, whilst employed as Chancellor of *England*, and in his Master's Presence, he ought to have preceded. But generally Protestants were only admitted to inferior Places, and for the most part with a Companion ; and they had only the Name, their Companions must do all, and they durst not contradict them ; and though they were intituled to rise accord-

according as Vacancies fell; yet some inconsiderable Pa-
pist was sure to get the Start of them, and to be put
over their Heads.

I N short, if serving King *James* truly and faithfully, even to their own Prejudice, whilst it was for his Advantage, and his Circumstances needed their Service, could have merited his Favour, most Protestants had supererogated; but all this passed for nothing with him, he would be *served his own Way*; that is, he would have Protestants been active to destroy their Properties, Liberty and Religion; he would have had them lend their Hands to tye the Chains of Slavery for them and their Posterity, to which they had already contributed too far to oblige his Humour, both before and after his coming to the Crown, against the common Interest of the Kingdom. Nothing less than the same blind Obedience would serve him in the State which his Clergy require in the Church, which we would not by any means pay him; and therefore it was in vain for us to think of preserving our selves by any Merit or Service we could render him; he did not think any thing a Protestant could do with a good Conscience to be a Service.

N O R was the good Nature and merciful Disposition of King *James* any greater Security to the Protestants of *Ireland*, than their own Merits towards him. There are, 'tis true, Kings in the World, that have an absolute Power over the Lives and Liberties of their Subjects; and yet govern them with such Justice and Mercy, that they suffer very little Inconveniency by it: But the Examples of this Kind are so very rare, that it is ill-trusting any one with such a Power. King *James*'s Partizans made it their Business to represent their Master as the most merciful and justest Prince in the World; and then they railed at us that grudged to lay our own and our Posterities Lives and Liberties at his Feet. Perhaps if he alone had been to have had the Disposal of them, and would have followed his natural Inclinations, we should not so much have feared to have trusted him; but whilst he had such Ministers about him, and embraced a Religion of such Principles as he professed, we had no Reason to depend much

Much on his natural Clemency or Inclination, for these were sufficient to corrupt the best-natured Man in the World.

NO doubt but *Charles V. of Germany* was of as compassionate and generous a Nature as any Man ; yet that did not keep him from making Havock of his Subjects on Account of Religion ; besides all his Wars and Bloodshed to suppress the Reformation, he destroyed by way of legal Process Fifty thousand in the Inquisition, a Barbarity, I believe, hardly equalled by *Nero*. *Francis I. of France* was a Prince equal to any in Generosity and Nobleness of Nature ; and yet he made no less Havock and Destruction in his Dominions on the same Account. The present *French King* is a Demonstration that neither Love of Glory, nor of Interest, neither Greatness of Mind, nor Goodness of Nature, are Antidotes against the Force of the Romish Principles, or can restrain the Prince that has throughly imbibed them, from Blood and Persecution ; otherwise he would never have made himself infamous by such horrid Cruelties as he has committed on his Protestant Subjects, or brought an indelible Blot on a Reign which he would fain have represented to be more glorious than any of his Predecessors.

IT is not necessary that what has been said should bring in Question the good Nature or merciful Temper of King *James*, though we confess we are unwilling to trust it too far. We had before our Thoughts the Proceedings in the West of *England*, where we saw his Clemency did not interpose, but suffered more to be prosecuted, tryed, condemned and executed for that one Rebellion (and yet it was not so considerable as many others) than perhaps had suffered in that Manner for many of the Rebellions since the Conquest. We found that he consented to attaint above Two thousand five hundred of the most considerable Persons of *Ireland* ; and that his good Nature might not be a Temptation to pardon them, he put it out of his Power to do by the same Act. After his coming into *Ireland*, very few Pardons passed the Great Seal, perhaps not three ; nor had many so much as the Promise

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of a Pardon given them, though very many needed and desired it.

THE Army of *Ireland* which King *James* found at his Coming to the Crown, consisted of about Seven thousand as loyal Men and as cordial to the King's Service as any one could be ; both Officers and Soldiers had been inured to it for many Years, yet no sooner was he settled on his Throne, but he began to turn out some of the Officers that had been most zealous for his Service, and had deserved best of him, merely because they had been counted firm to the Protestant Religion and *English* Interest. The first who were made Examples to the rest, were the Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitz-Gera'd*, Captain *Richard Coote*, and Sir *Oliver S. George*. The three first were Earls Sons, who either in their own Persons, or by their Fathers and Relations had been signally active in restoring King *Charles II*, and the Royal Family to their just Rights, 1660 ; so had Sir *Oliver S. George* : And they were all of them without any other Exception, but their Zeal for their Religion, and the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. But the common Saying was, that King *James* would regard no Man for any Service done to him, his Father, or Brother, but only for future Service that he expected from them : And since he could not expect, that these Gentlemen should assist him to destroy the Protestant Religion, or the Liberties of his Subjects, which was the Service he then expected, he took their Troops from them, and gave them to Persons of mean or broken Fortunes, who must do any thing to keep them ; some of them unqualified by Law.

TO convince the World, that no Consideration was to be had of Loyalty or Merit, except a Man were a Papist, the Duke of *Ormond* was sent for abruptly, and divested of the Government, with Circumstances that did no ways correspond with the Service he had rendered the Crown in general, and King *James* in particular. Immediately the Modelling of the Army was put into the Hands of Colonel *Richard Talbott*, a Person more hated than any other Man by the Protestants, and who had been named by *Oates* in his Narrative

ive for this very Employment. When therefore the Protestants saw him put into it, many who believed nothing of a Plot before, gave Credit now to his Narrative, and the common Saying was, that *if Oates was an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet.* Colonel Talbott, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, knew the Necessity of having the Army fitted to his Purpose, it being the Engine he depended on for the destroying the Religion, Liberty, and Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore set about it with all Expedition, and prosecuted it in such a Manner as might be expected from a Man of his insolent Temper. He exercised at the same Time so much Falshood and Barbarity, that if the Army had not been the best principled with Loyalty and Obedience of any in the World, they would have mutinied, or at least dispatched him. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with all the Oaths, Curses and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profess Friendship and Kindness to him, and promise him the Continuance of his Commission, and in the Afternoon cashier him, with all the Contempt he could heap on him; nay, perhaps, while he was thus caressing him, he had actually given way his Commission. The Officers of *Ireland*, then ashiered, and their Acquaintance, can vouch the Truth of this in many Instances. As for the Soldiers and Troopers, his Way with them was to march them from their usual Quarters, to some distant Place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to greatest Hardships, and there he stripped them: The Foot of their Cloaths, for which they had pay'd; and the Troopers of their Horses, Boots, and Furniture, bought with their own Money; and set them to walk bare-footed one hundred, or one hundred and fifty Miles to their Homes or Friends, if they had any. Sometimes he would promise them something for their Horses; but then he told them, that they must come to *Dublin* for it: If any came to demand the small Pittance promised them for their Horses, or Arrears of Pay, he contrived it so, that they should be obliged to wait till they had spent twice as much as they expected; and most of them, after all, got nothing. By this means two

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or three hundred Protestant Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or a good Part of their Fortunes, and contracted Debts on Commissions, were not left worth any thing, but were turned out without Reason or any Consideration, and five or six thousand Soldiers sent a begging; a Hardship perhaps never put on any Army before, without any Provocation; against whom there was no other Exception, but that they were English Men and Protestants, and King James, by substituting Irish Men and Papists in their Places, contrary to the Laws, and to the very Design of keeping a standing Army in *Ireland*, clearly demonstrated that he had no Regard to the Laws, or to the Preservation of the Kingdom; and that he designed to advance the Popish Irish Interest in *Ireland*, which every Body knows cannot be done without the utter Ruin of the English Protestants.

IN the mean time, the new raised Forces and Officers being put into Arms and Command, to which they were Strangers, into good Cloaths, and mounted on Horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the Insolence common to such Sort of Men when unworthily advanced. They every were insulted over the English, and had their Mouths continually full of Oaths, Curses, and Imprecations against them; they railed on them, and gave them all the opprobrious Names they could; and if any chastised them for their Sauciness, though ever so much provoked, they had the Judges and Juries on their Side. They might kill whom they pleased without Fear of Law, as appeared from Captain Nangles murthering his disbanded Officer in the Streets of *Dublin*; but if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer; as Captain Afton found to his Cost, who was hanged for killing a Papist upon his abusing the Captain's Wife in the Street. They immediately ruined all the Protestants Inns in *Ireland*, partly by oppressing them with Quarters, partly by paying nothing for what they had in their Quarters, and partly by driving away other Guests by their Rudeness.

IN this Insolence they continued and daily increased, till the Prince of *Orange* came into *England*

But

But then new Commissions were issued out with all Diligence of one Sort or another, sometimes five hundred in a Day. All the Scum and Rascallity of the Kingdom were made Officers ; every where the Papists armed and enlisted themselves, and the Priests suffered no Man to come to Mass, that did not arm himself with at least a Skean and Half-Pike. The new commission'd Officers were obliged, without Pay, to subfift their Men, as they termed it, for three Months, a Thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better Sort of their Captains and inferiour Officers had been Footmen or Servants to Protestants. One Gentleman's Cowherd was made a Lieutenant ; but he would fain have capitulated with his Master, to keep his Place vacant for him if his Commission did not hold. Most of them were the Sons or Descendants of Rebels in 1641, who had murthered so many Protestants. Many were out-lawed and condemned Persons, that had lived by torying and robbing.

I could never hear any thing pretended for these Proceedings, except it were either, 1. That the Army were the King's Servants, and every Man may employ what Servants he pleases ; or, 2. That the general arming the Papists, and plundering the Protestants, was necessary in order to raise and encourage an Army, otherwise the King had had nothing to trust to.

As to the first of these, it is not true that every Man may entertain what Servants he pleases ; because one ought not to entertain any that are not qualified as the Law requires. But if it were granted that the Case were the same between the King and his Army, as between a Master and his Servants, and that a Master might entertain what Servants he pleased, (neither of which is true) yet it is to be considered, that where another pays the Servants, the Master must be obliged to keep such Servants as will anfwer the Design of such as afford the Wages. Now it was the Kingdom's Money that paid the Soldiers ; it was given the King by a Protestant Parliament, to preserve the Protestant *English* Interest, and suppress the conquered *Irish* Papists, as appears

pears by the Acts themselves ; it was paid by them out of their proper Fortunes and Estates ; and for the King to employ the Money so given and paid him, to arm those whom it was designed to suppress, and destroy those who gave it, is the greatest Breach of Trust and Prevarication of which they can be guilty.

AND as to the other Reason, That it was necessary, in order to raise an Army for the King, to arm all the Rascallity of *Ireland* ; and to let them destroy the Protestants, to subliss and hearten them ; I answer, That this owns a Necessity, if not a Design of destroying us.

THE Support and Happiness of a Kingdom consists chiefly in the equal and impartial Administration of Justice ; and that depends on the Choice of fit and duly qualified Persons for filling the Courts, and executing the Laws ; but King *James* made Choice of such Persons for these Offices, as were so far from answering the Intent of their Places, that they made it their Business to destroy the Protestant Interest, and the Laws that preserve the Liberty of the Subject in general ; by those Laws no Man was capable of being a Judge who had not taken the Oath of Supremacy. The Judges he found on the Bench had taken it ; but yet some of them were known to be rather too favourable to Papists ; and considering the Influence King *James* had in his Brother's Time in disposing of Offices, it is not to be imagined that he would suffer any Man to sit as a Judge, who had not been favourably represented unto him in that Point ; though we must own he was mistaken in some of them : Hence it came that Protestants did frequently complain of the Favour and Countenance their Adversaries found in the Courts of Justice, even in King *Charles* II's Time. But when King *James* came to the Crown, moderate, nay favourable Judges would not do the Work he designed. He found it necessary to employ the most zealous of his Party ; those who both by Interest and Inclination were most deeply engaged to destroy the Protestant *English* Interest ; and accordingly such were picked out and set on all the Benches.

T. HE

THE Chancery is the great and highest Court, wherein the great Frauds and other Matters belonging to Trusts and Equity are determined ; and neither the Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had managed that Court above twenty Years, nor Sir *Charles Porter*, who succeeded him, could answer the King's Intention : But Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Person detected of Forgery, not only at *Westminster* and *Chester*, but likewise fined by the House of Lords in Parliament, must be brought out of Goal, and set on the highest Court of the Kingdom, to keep the King's Conscience, though he wanted Law and natural Capatity, as well as Honesty and Courage, to discharge such a Trust ; and had no other Quality to recommend him, besides his being a Convert Papist, that is, a Renegado to his Religion and his Country. He could not understand the Merit of a Cause, of any Difficulty, and therefore never failed to give Sentence according to his Inclination, having no other Rule to lead him ; and how he was inclined towards Protestants, appeared from his Declarations on all Occasions against them ; he did not stick, on a Hearing, to declare that they were all *Rogues*, and that *amongst forty thousand* there was not *one* who was not a *Traitor*, a *Rebel*, and a *Villain* : For this Reason he would not allow the Guardianship of a Child to the Protestant Mother, but gave it, against the positive Words of the Law, to the Popish Relations. For this Cause he over-ruled both the common Rules of Practice of the Courts, and the Laws of the Land, declaring in open Court, That the *Chancery* was above all Laws, that no Law could bound his Conscience. After hearing a Cause between a Protestant and a Papist, he would often declare that he would consult a Divine before he gave a Decree ; that is, he would have the Opinion of a Popish Priest, his Chaplain, educated in *Spain*, and furnished with Distinctions to satisfy his Conscience, how far he should do Justice to Protestants.

THE Courts of Common-Law were put into the same Method ; and great Care taken to fill them with Judges, who might be engaged in a profess'd Enmity to the Protestant Interest. In *Ireland* there are only three Judges

Judges on a Bench ; and it was thought fit, for a Court till Things were riper, to keep one Protestant on every Bench ; but whilst there were two Votes to one, the Protestant Judge could neither do Right to Protestants, or retard a Sentence to be given in the Favour of a Papist. This Mock-method of seeming to trust Protestants they took likewise in naming Burgesses and Aldermen for Corporations ; they generally put some few into their new Charters to serve for a Pretext of Impartiality, and yet to signify nothing : This Method of continuing some few Protestants in Courts and Corporations serving only to silence and exasperate us to be thus imposed on, but contributed nothing to relieve us, as we found to our Costs : And the Protestant Judges and Burgesses finding that they were made Cyphers and Properties, of themselves declined at last to act in their Stations.

NEXT to Chancery is the *King's-Bench*, where Subjects are tried for their Lives and Fortunes : Upon this was set Mr. *Thomas Nugent*, the Son of one who had been Earl of *Westmeath*, but had lost his Honour and Estate for being an Actor in the late Rebellion begun in 1641. This Mr. *Nugent*, who had never been taken Notice of at the Bar but for his Ignorance in the Law, was pitched on by King *James* to judge whether the Outlawries against his Father and his Fellow-Rebels should be reversed, and whether the Settlement of *Ireland* founded on those Outlawries should stand good. It was a Demonstration to us what the King intended, when he assigned us such a Chief-Justice ; and indeed the Gentleman did not fail to answer the Expectation conceived of him. He reversed the Outlawries as fast as they came before him, notwithstanding a Statute made in point against it : And in all the Causes that ever came before him, wherein the Plaintiffs and Defendants were Papist and Protestant, I could not learn from the most diligent Observer, that ever he gave Sentence for the latter. Before him a Deed should be judged, forged or not forged, according as it served a Popish Interest. And a Protestant needed no more to gain a Cause against another Protestant than to turn Papist ; which manifestly appeared in Sir *George Birn's* Case, who

merely

neerly by turning Fapist in the midst of his Suit against Captain Robert Fitz-Gerald, got a Deed condemned of Forgery, and recovered five or six Hundred Pounds *per Annum*; notwithstanding Mr. Daniel Birn, his Father, some Years before, for pretending it was forged, had been sued in an Action of the *Cave*, and forced to pay Two Hundred Pound Damages; And though there appeared in Court a Bond under Birn's Hand, obliging him to pay Two Hundred Pound to the Witnesses, in case they should prove Captain Fitz-Gerald's Deed to be forged, yet the Proof was excepted. But these were common Things in this Court, and the Mischief had been much greater, had not a Writ of Error liea from this Court to the *King's-Bench* in *England*. In one Thing more he signalized himself; it was by committing and prosecuting People for feigned Offences and Treasons, and by countenancing and encouraging, and after Discovery protecting false Witnesses against Protestants. Many were brought in Danger of their Lives by his Contrivances; and when the Accused were acquitted on Trial, by a palpable Demonstration that the Witnesses were perjured, he declared that they neither could nor should be prosecuted, for they only swore for the King, and he believed the accused Persons guilty, though it could not be proved. He was assisted on the Bench by Sir Bryan O'Neal, as puny Judge, a weak Man that had nothing to recommend him but Venom and Zeal, being otherwife disabled both in his Reason and Body: Only he had the Faculty to do what he was bid, especially when it suited with his own Inveteracy against *Englsh* Men and Protestants.

THE next Court for Business (though not for Precedence) is the *Exchequer*, in which all Actions wherein the King's Revenue, or any other Man's Estate is concerned, may be tryed. From this Court no Writ of Error lies in *England*; so they were free here from that Check, which was so troublesome to them in other Courts. Upon this Consideration it was that the whole Business of the Kingdom, so far as it concerned them, was brought into this Court; tho' not so proper for it. Here were brought all Actions of Trespasses and Ejectments

ments concerning Estates ; all *Quo Warranto's* against Corporations, and *Scire Facias's* about Offices : And they thought themselves concerned to have an able Man, and one throughly cordial to their Interest for the Chief Judge in it : For if he had wanted Sense of Law, though willing, as they found by Experience in some of the other Courts, he might have been unable to serve them in all Cases. They therefore fixed on Mr. Stephen Rice, afterward Sir Stephen, who had formerly been noted for a Rook and Gamester at the Inns of Court. He was (to give him his Due) a Man of the best Sense amongst them, well enough versed in the Law, but most signal for his Inveteracy against the Protestant Interest and Settlement of *Ireland* ; having been often heard to say, before he was a Judge, that he would *drive a Coach and Six Horses through the Act of Settlement*, upon which both depended. And before that Act was repealed in their pretended Parliament, he declared on the Bench that it was against natural Equity, and could not oblige. This Man did King *James* chuse for chief Baron, and for the final Determination of all Suits that lay between Protestants and Papists, either in Common-Law or Equity. And it is no hard Matter to conjecture what Success the Protestants met with in their Suits before a Judge that declared, as he did, that they should have no Favour, but *Summum jus*, that is, the utmost Rigor of the Law. Immediately his Court was filled with Popish Plaintiffs : Every one that had a forged Deed or a false Witness, met with Favour and Countenance from him ; and he knowing that they could not bring his Sentences in *England* to be re-examined there, acted as a Man that feared no After-Account or Reckoning. It was before him all the Charters of the Kingdom were damned, and that in a Term or two, in such a manner that proved him a Man of Dispatch, tho' not of Justice. If he had been left alone, it was really believed that in few Years he would, by some Contrivance or other, have given away most of the Protestants Estates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to attaint them ; which was a more compendious, but not a more certain way to destroy them, than the Methods he took. It was he that without

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Hearing, after he had dissolved the Corporations by giving Sentence against their Charters, declared void all the Leases of Lands or of Perquisites made by them, tho' long before their Dissolution, and on very good Considerations ; and thereupon outed several Protestants of their Leases : But it were endless to mention all the Oppressions and unjust Proceedings of this Court, it were in Effect to transcribe the Records of it. Let me only observe, that the Chief Baron was assisted by Sir *Henry Lynch* as Second Baron, who came indeed short of him in Parts, but yielded nothing to him in Malice to the Protestant Religion and Interest.

THE Court of *Common Pleas* had little to do : The Business, so far as concerned the Protestants and Papists, was intirely carried out of it to the *King's-Bench*, or *Exchequer*; and therefore they permitted the Lord Chief Justice *Keating* still to sit in it, but pinioned with two of their own sort, that if any thing should chance to come before him, he might be out-voted by them. The Truth is they were jealous of this Court, not only because a Protestant was Chief Justice in it, but likewise because Judge *Dally* sat as puny Judge, who tho' a Roman-Catholick, yet understood the Common-Law so well, and behaved himself so impartially, that they did not care to bring their Causes before him : So much did they dread the Prospect of Justice, tho' before Judges that were of their own Party and Persuasion.

THE Circuits are an Extention of the Courts, whereby Justice is carried into the Country : These were managed much at the same Rate with the Courts ; and where the Sheriff and Judge were both Papists, it is not difficult to guess what Justice Protestants must expect ; what packing of Juries there was amongst them : And how deeply the Judges themselves were concerned in such Practices, is evident to all that had any Concerns in the Country at that time.

IT will be requisite to say something of the Attorney General which King *James* made, instead of Sir *William Domvile*, whom he turned out after near thirty Years supplying the Place ; but he was a Protestant, and would not consent to reverse the Popish Outlawries, nor to the other Methods they took to de-

stroy the Settlement of *Ireland*; and therefore he was laid aside. In his Place King *James* substituted Mr. *Richard Nagle*, whom he afterwards knighted, and made Secretary of State: He was at first designed for a Clergy Man, and educated amongst the *Jesuits*; but afterwards betook himself to the Study of the Law, in which he arrived to a good Perfection. Every Body knows how great a Part the Attorney General has in the Administration of Justice, it being his Office to prosecute, and in his Power to stop any Suit wherein the King is concerned. The same Sir *Richard Nagle* was the Speaker of the House of Commons in their pretended Parliament, and had the chief Hand in drawing up their Acts; King *James* confided chiefly in him: And the Acts of Repeal and Attainder were looked on as his Work; in which his Malice and Jesuitical Principles prevailed so far, that he was not content to ouer two Thirds of the Protestant Gentlemen of their Estates by the Act of Repeal, (by which all Estates acquired in 1641, were taken away) and to attaint most of those that had old Estates by the Bill of Attainder: But to make sure Work, he put it out of the King's Power to pardon them; therein betraying the King's Prerogative, as the King himself told him when he discovered it to him.

I Have already taken Notice how King *James* disposed the Military Offices, in such a Method as must unavoidably ruin the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*. It was not altogether so easie to ouer Men of their Civil Employments as of their Military; 1. Because many had Patents for Life, or Good Behaviour; and, 2. Because some of the Offices themselves were so difficult to be managed, that it was not easie to find Roman Catholicks capable of discharging them; yet it appeared necessary, in order to ruin the Protestants, that they should be turned out of them; and therefore King *James* and his Ministers resolved to do it as fast as they could. As soon as they could find a Papist that would or durst undertake them, they put him in; and they plainly declared, that no Protestant after a little while should have any Office of Trust or Profit left in his Hands. Some Offices they disposed of without more ado

do by new Patents, and put the Patentee in Possession without taking Notice that there was another Patent in being, leaving the former Proprietor to bring his Action at Law if he pleased. And the inferior Bodies of Cities learned this Trick from them ; and by outed their Protestant Recorders, even before their new Charters. Some Officers that claimed a Title to their Offices by Law, were not allowed a Legal Tryal, but the Chancellor called them before him, and on a private Hearing turned them out.

BUT to proceed by Retail seemed tedious ; and therefore to make short Work, and rid their Hands of Protestant Civil Officers at once, as they had done of the Military, they made an Act in their pretended Parliament, to avoid all Patents for Offices during Life or Good Behaviour, tho' granted by King *James* himself, and tho' the Protestants had laid out their Fortunes to purchase them by King *James*'s own Consent and permission, as many had done. Now let the World judge what a Step the disposal of these Offices was, to the Destruction of Protestants, when some of them were of such consequence, that an unfaithful Officer in them might undo many, by destroying their Evidences or their Estates ? In what Condition must Protestants be, when the Records, by which they held their Estates, were put into the Hands of those who were their Adversaries in the Claim, and had nothing to bar them but these Records, of which they were now made Keepers, who had often before shocked the Protestant Titles, by setting up counterfeit Deeds ?

THE next sort of Officers were such as were concerned in the Revenue ; these were, many of them, born during Pleasure. The Revenue had for five or six Years past been managed by Commissioners to very great Advantage. They had gotten under them a Set of very sharp and severe Officers ; many of which having been formerly concerned in Trade themselves, knew all the arts of cheating the King in his Duties, and were able to discover them ; and he who was most acute and made greatest Advantage for the King, was sure to keep his Place, and to be advanced. It was hard to find a set of Commissioners and Officers that could serve the

King in his Revenue at the Rate these Persons did and therefore they were forced to be slow in changing them: Yet they did it by Degrees, and with such Circumstances, as plainly discovered that they were resolved, as soon as was possible, to employ Roman Catholicks only. To do them Justice, they generally owned it; and when any of them had a Friend to prefer to an Office in the Revenue, his Argument to remove the Protestant Possessor usually was, *This Man must be removed, and why not now?* In most Places they turned out the Protestant Collectors and Officers and put in their Popish Friends, tho' much to the King's Loss, as it often proved, and as they themselves knew it would be, and did not scruple to own it. Their new Collectors, either being so ignorant as not to make the best of their Places, or so very corrupt that they run away with the Money when collected or so abused their Trust, that they were obliged to change no less than five or six at a Time, King James himself declaring publickly, that they deserved to be hanged. That there remained any Protestants employed in the Revenue, was plainly from their not having time enough to train up others in their Room, and not from their Intentions to continue Protestants in it; to whom they envied even the hated Office of being Publicans.

THE third sort of Officers in the Kingdom are such as have Trust or Honour annexed to them, but little Profit; of this sort I reckon Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. It was no easie Matter to find Roman Catholicks to put into these Offices, and it was a most provoking Sight to Protestants, to see with what kind of Men they supplied them: They were forced to ram into the very Skum and Sink of the People, to find few to sit on the Bench, as I shewed before; Men without Freehold, without Sense, and without Honestie were made Sheriffs; and yet they were forced to continue most of them two Years, not being able to find in some Counties any Roman Catholick that could pretend to be capable of such an Employment. We had many such Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace; and to demonstrate that they designed to cut Protestants of all Possession.

there was not one Protestant Sheriff in all *Ireland* for the Year 1687, except *Charles Hamilton* of *Cavan*, who was put in by Mistake (as was supposed) instead of *John Hamilton* of *Killeneur*, who is a Roman Catholic. Nay, it was designed, that not one Protestant should sit on the Bench as Justice of Peace; and the Design in a great Measure effected; not indeed by revoking their Commissions, but by making it impossible for them to act. It was now almost a necessary Qualification to preserve a Man in his Place, to change or dissemble his Religion; and some did worse, that is, betrayed it by their Compliance, whilst yet they professed it. Many who would not be guilty of such Servility, were turned out even from the mean Employments of a High or Petty Constable, of a Gaoler or Turn-Key; of all which it were easie to give Examples; but the thing being universal, makes that unnecessary. Even these mean Employments were now counted too good for Protestants; and all this contrary to the express Letter of the Law, which admitted none but such as would take the Oath of Supremacy to any Office; but they took a peculiar Pleasure to act in contempt and despite of the Laws; and it seemed to them a kind of Conquest, to turn a Man out of his Employment, Office, or freehold, contrary to Law. In the mean Time, it was melancholy thing for Protestants to live under such legal Officers, and have their Lives, Estates and Liberties, at the Mercy of Sheriffs, Justices, and Juries, some of whose Fathers or nearest Relations they had either hanged for Thieving, Robbery, and Murthering, or killed in the very Act of Torying.

I reckon as a fourth sort of Officers in the Kingdom, such as were of the Privy-Council, which in *Ireland* is great Part of the Constitution, and has considerable Privileges and Power annexed to it. Regularly no Act of Parliament can pass in *Ireland*, till the Chief Governour and Privy-Council do first certifie the Causes and Reasons of it. It was therefore no less than necessary that King *James* should model this to his Mind; and he quickly ordered it so, that the Papists made the Majority in it; and whereas before it was a Refuge and Sanctuary to the Oppressed, it now became a most effectual

effectual Instrument to strengthen the Popish Interest, and give Reputation to their Proceedings. We may guess what kind of Government King *James* designed, when he was attended with such a Council; and yet it is certain, even some of these who were Protestants would have been turned out, if they had not absented themselves, and declined appearing at the Board; but whether they appeared or no, was of no Consideration, since it is plain they could do Protestants little Service.

WH O E V E R knows the Constitution of *England* and *Ireland*, must observe that the Subjects have no other Security for their Liberties, Properties, and Lives, except the Interest they have of choosing their own Representatives in Parliament. This is the only Barrier they have against the Encroachments of their Governour. Take it away, and they are as absolute Slaves to the King's Will, and as miserable as the Peasants in *France*. Whoever therefore goes about to deprive them of this Right, utterly destroys the very Constitution and Foundation of the Government. Now the Protestants of *Ireland* finding the Necessity of securing this Right in their own Hands, to preserve the Kingdom in Prosperity and Peace, had procured many Corporations to be founded, and built many considerable Corporate Towns at their own Cost and Charges. They thought it reasonable to keep these in their own Hands, as being the Foundation of the Legislative Power; and therefore secluded Papists as Enemies to the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, from Freedom and Votes in them by the very Foundation and Rules of planting them. This Caution they extended by a Law to all other Corporations in the Kingdom, excluding Papists likewise from them; which they justly did, if we remember that these Papists had forfeited their Right in them, by their Rebellion in 1641; and by their having turned those Towns, where they had Interest, into Nests of Traitors against the King, and into Places of Refuge for the Murtherers of the *English*; insomuch that it cost *England* some Millions to reduce them again into Obedience; witness *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Gallway*, *Lymerick*, and every other Place where they had Power.

to do it. Add to this, that generally the trading industrious Men of the Kingdom were Protestants, who had built most of the Corporate Towns (above thirty at once in King *James* the First's Time) and a great Part of the Freeholds of the Kingdom did also belong to Men of the same Religion: Insomuch that if a fair Election had been allowed, in Probability no Papist could have carried it in any one County of *Ireland*. All which considered, it was but reasonable that the Protestants that had by so much Blood and Treasure brought the Kingdom into Subjection to the Laws of *England*, and planted it in such a Manner as to render it worth the governing by the King, should be secured of their Representatives in Parliament; especially when out of their great Loyalty and Confidence in the King's kind Intention to them, they by some new Rules had condemned, that none should officiate as *Mayors*, *Portreeves*, *Magistrates*, or *Sheriffs* in the chief Towns, till approved by the King's Chief Governor for the Time being. Their yielding this to the King was a sufficient Security, one would have thought, to the Royal Interest; a great Diminution of their Liberties, and such as never was yielded before to any King. But this would not serve King *James* to be absolute, he must have the entire Disposition of them, and the Power to put in and turn out whom he pleased, without troubling the Formalities of Law. To bring them therefore to this, it was resolved to dissolve them all. *Tyrconnel* knew that the Protestants would never give up their Charters, without being compelled by Law: And therefore he endeavoured to prevail with them to admit Papists to Freedom and Offices in them, that by their Means he might have them surrendered; but the Resolution of Sir *John Knox*, then Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, and of the then Table of Aldermen, spoiled that Design, and forced the King to bring *Quo Warranto's* against them, since they would not easily consent to destroy themselves.

THE Chief Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney General *Nagle*, were employed as the fittest Instruments to carry on this Work. To prevent Writs of Error into *England*, all these *Quo Warranto's* were brought into the

Exchequer; and in about two Terms Judgments were entered against most Charters. Attorney General *Nagle* plaid all the little Tricks that could be thought of; and had an ordinary Attorney brought such Demurrers or Pleadings into Court, in a common Cause, as he did in this most weighty Affair of the Kingdom, he would have received a publick Rebuke, and been struck out of the Roll for his Knavery or Ignorance. After all, there was not one Corporation found to have forfeited by a Legal Trial; neither was any Crime or Cause of Forfeiture objected against them; yet the Chief Baron gave Judgment against an hundred Charters, or thereabouts, upon such little Exceptions and pitiful Cavils, that it must be the greatest Affront to the Understanding of Mankind, to think to put such on them for Justice, and the greatest Profanation of the Name of Law, to endeavour to pass such Proceedings for legal.

WHERE they did not think fit to destroy the Charters upon their usual and trivial Pretence of defective Pleading, there they found out other Expedients, without Trial, to destroy them: And that was, by granting a New Charter to such Men as the Attorney General thought fit; who by the Sheriff should be put in Possession of the Government of the Town, and then if the former Possessors thought themselves injured, they might bring their Actions against the Intruders; in the Trial of which, they had reason to expect no more Fairness, than they found in the Proceedings against their Charters.

THIS Contrivance, of superseding a former Charter by granting a new one, served to very good Purpose. There were many particular Charters granted to Corporations in the City of *Dublin*. Such were the Corporations of Taylors, Skinners, Feltmakers, &c. where these refused to surrender, they got a few of the Trade to take out a New Charter, by which Papists were constituted Masters and Wardens; and as soon as they had taken it out, they committed to Prison such of the ancient Members as would not submit to them.

AS soon as the Corporations came to be supplied with New Charters, it plainly appeared that no English or Protestant Freeman could expect a comfortable Life in

in *Ireland*; for in the first place, the Corporations were made absolute Slaves to the King's Will, it being one Clause in all the New Charters, that the King's Chief Governour should have Power to turn out or put in whom he pleased, without giving any Reason, and without any Form of Legal Proceeding; by which the Corporations were so much in the King's Power, that he might with as much Reason have named his Regiment of Guards a Free Parliament, as the Burghesses return'd by such Elections. The whole Kingdom had therefore Reason to resent such Proceedings, as being absolutely destructive to their Liberties; but more especially the *English* Protestants; for it plainly appeared in the second Place, that all this Regulation was more immediately designed for their Destruction. The Persons every where named for Aldermen and Burghesses of the New Charters being above two Thirds Papists, some few Protestants were kept in for Form sake, that they might not seem absolutely to disown them; and to avoid discovering their Designs of turning them out of all; but yet so few, in comparison of the Papists, that they were incapable of doing either Good or Hurt. And when they saw that they must be insignificant, they generally declined serving at all. The Papists employed, were commonly the most inveterate and exasperated Persons against Protestants and their Interest that could be found. Many of them never saw the Corporations for which they were named; they were never concerned in Trade or Business; many of them were named for several Corporations, because they wanted Men qualified as they would have had them, to make up the Number of Aldermen or Burghesses. Most of them were poor and mean, and such whose very Names spake Barbarities.

IT is certain King *James* ruined the Trade of *Ireland*, in prosecution of his Purpose of destroying the Protestants there. The Money and Wealth circulated in their Hands, and few others had either Stock, Understanding or Credit, to carry on a Trade besides them. They innocently imagined, if there had been no other Reason, that this alone would have prevailed with the then Government to have permitted them to live

secure, easie, and quiet ; but they quickly found, that King *James* and his Ministers would rather have had no Trade at all in the Kingdom, than it should be in the Hands of Protestants. Merchants have generally their Stock in Moveables, so that it is easie for them to transport themselves and their Effects into another Country, if they find themselves uneasie in their own. And sure the Protestant Merchants could not be easie in Towns which they had formerly governed, and in which they were now subjected to mean inconsiderable People ; many of which had formerly been their own menial Servants, but now advanced to the Honour of being Magistrates, treated their late Masters with such Affronts and Abuses, as are intolerable to Free-Men, and, which *Solomon* observes, make even wise Men mad.

THIS, together with the apprehension of Danger to their Lives and Fortunes, from the Advancement of such indigent and malicious Persons to Power, did drive most of the rich Traders out of the Kingdom. The rest contracted their Stocks, called in their Debts, and resolved to give over Trading, or else follow their Neighbours into *England*, as soon as they could clear themselves of their Busines. The effect of this Resolution of theirs was ruinous to all such as were indebted to them, or in their Books ; for it was impossible to raise Money to answer those Debts, when called for so suddenly, tho' they had Stock enough to answer them, if time had been allowed them, as they expected when they contracted them ; by which means Protestants were forced to ruin one another, as well as some Papists that depended on them ; a great many being forced thereby to shut up Shop, and break for small Debts, that bear no proportion to their Stocks and Credit, whose Payment had been good, if they had not been called on too suddenly, and if the Circulation of Trade had not been stopped.

THE next thing that destroyed the Trade of *Ireland*, was the advancing Persons of mean or no Fortunes unto Places of Profit. These had no ready Money to give the Merchants, and yet were necessitated to live high, and appear in fine Cloaths ; and either by Force

or Fraud they got into the Shop-Books ; and by refusing to pay, disabled the Merchants to make their usual Returns, and by that means broke their Credit, which is the Foundation of Trade. The Protestant Soldiers and Officers, in whose places the indigent Papists were substituted, were generally so good Husbands as to have some little thing in Store ; and hence were enabled to take up at the best hand, and punctually pay what they had expended ; but these New-Comers gave their Creditors, where they chanced to be trusted, only Oaths, and Curses, and Abuses, instead of Payment. A general stop of Trading immediately followed.

THE King's Revenue in *Ireland* was so considerable a part of each Man's Estate, that most of the current Coin in the Kingdom came into the Treasury once in a Year, either for Hearth-Mony, Crown-Rents, or some other Duties. And the King having turned Protestants out of all profitable Employments, and out of the Army, and put in Papists, his Revenue was paid out again to them, and ought to have circulated indifferently amongst his Subjects, as it used to do. But so great was the Malice of these new Officers to Protestants, that they combined amongst themselves, to let them have as little of it as was possible ; and therefore wherever they could lay it out with one of their own Religion they did it. And very few Protestants ever received a Groat of their Money, as the Citizens of *Dublin* can universally Witness. When they wanted Money they came to the Protestant Shops, where they abused and affronted and terrified them, if they refused to trust ; calling them *Dogs*, *Whigs*, *Rebels*, and *Traitors*, swearing with many Oaths, that they would be revenged on them. But if they had ready Money, tho' they had been formerly Customers to Protestants, and in their Books, they never came near them any more. This Practice was so universal amongst them, that even the Women learn'd it ; particularly the Lady *Tyrconnel's* Daughters : For thus the Lady *Ross* and her Sister *Dillon* treated several Shopkeepers, falling furiously upon them in the former Terms, because their Servants refused to trust. By the like Rudeness the Exchange was intirely ruined ; neither Buyers nor Sellers being able to keep in it, by reason

reason of the Insolencies of the new Popish Officers who walked in it, affronted and assaulted every Body, or extorted their Goods from them for nothing, the Shopkeepers not daring to refuse to trust them. By this means the rich Shopkeepers were driven away, and most of the considerable Shops shut up, even in the principal Streets of the City, long before we heard any News of the Prince of Orange.

AND to ruin our Trade intirely, they suffered and connived at the Transportation of our Wool to *France*; a thing so fatal to *England*, as well as to *Ireland*, that the Law has made it Felony to be punished with Death.

THERE is no worldly thing more valuable to Man than Liberty. Many prefer it to Life; and few can live long without it. 'Tis the Darling of our Laws, and there is nothing of which they are more tender. But the Protestants of *Ireland*, from the very beginning of King *James*'s Reign, had their Liberties invaded, and at last intirely destroyed. 'Twas observable, that at his coming to the Crown he made no Proclamation for a general Pardon, as has been usual with Kings; neither did he pass any Act of Grace in his first Parliament, which gave a fair Opportunity to the Papists of *Ireland* to revenge themselves on their Protestant Neighbours. No sooner had they gotten Judges and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of swearing, and ripping up what they pretended their Neighbours had said of His late Majesty, whilst Duke of *York*, some Years before, especially in the time of the Popish Plot. The new Justices of the Peace were eager to exercise their Offices, and therefore on the slightest Occasion, bound over and committed their Protestant Neighbours, many times without any reason at all, at least, without any given in their Warrants: It was time enough to invent some against the next Assizes. There never wanted Evidence enough to accuse a Man, the very Priests being forward to encourage such Perjuries, as were to the prejudice of Protestants. Of this there are several Instances on Record in the Courts of Justice; where we find them sometimes swearing Falshoods themselves, and

and sometimes encouraging others to do it. Of which the Courts, even in spite of all their Partiality, were satisfied.

UPON this Account Perjuries became so common, that if a Tenant owed his Protestant Landlord his Rent, he payed him by swearing him into a Plot, or by fixing on him some treasonable or seditious Words. If a Papist had any former Quarrel with his Protestant Neighbour, or owed him Money, he paid him in the same Coin. Many were indicted by these Contrivances; many found guilty, and excessively fined; some were imprisoned for their Fines, not being able to satisfy the King, who seized both their Bodies and Estates. Hardly any County in *Ireland* was free from numerous Indictments of this Kind, and very few Country Gentlemen escaped being accused. It would make a Volume to enumerate all the Particulars of this Nature.

THE new Mayors and Justices of the Peace were no less troublesome to Protestants in their Employments; they made no Scruple to send their Tokens and Warrants for Persons of the best Quality. And wherever a Papist and Protestant had any Difference, there needed no more but a Complaint to procure a Committal, and to be sure it was done with all the Indignity and affronting Circumstances imaginable. Sir *Thomas Hackett*, whilst Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*, did so many brutish and barbarous Things of this Nature, that it were endless to recount them: Taking Example from the Lord *Tyrconnel*, who made him Mayor, he treated every body with Oaths, Curses, ill Names, and barbarous Language. Sir *Thomas* was not content to execute his Authority within his own Precincts, he extended it where the Mayor's Power was never owned. He sent his Warrant and committed the Officers of *Christ-Church, Dublin*, to the Stocks, because he fancied they did not make the Bells ring *merrily enough* for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. It was in vain for the Officers to tell him, that their Church and Parsons were not subject to his Jurisdiction; that if the Bells did not ring *merrily enough*, as he alledged, it was the Ringers Fault, not theirs. That no Body, besides his Lordship, could observe any such thing in their Ringing. His brutish Passion would

not

not give him leave to hearken to Reason ; but upon all Occasions he proceeded in the same Method ; which made every Body, that valued his Liberty, get out of his Power ; and prevailed with a great many to leave their Estates and Concerns, and transport themselves, and what Effects they could carry with them into *England*. It was unsafe and uneasy living both in the City and in the Country, and he reckoned himself happy that could get out of them at any rate.

BUT when the Descent was made by the Prince of *Orange* into *England*, things grew yet more troublesome. The Protestants were every where robbed and plundered. The new Commissioned Officers and their Soldiers, under the name of Rapperies, committed many Outrages and Devastations on their Protestant Neighbours ; insomuch, that they could not be safe in their Houses. If any endeavoured to keep their Houses, tho' merely to secure themselves from the Robbers and Tories, immediately they were Besieged ; and tho' they Surrendred themselves as soon as Summoned, having no Design to resist Authority, and put themselves into the Hands of King *James*'s Officers, upon Promise of Freedom, nay, on Articles, yet afterward they were imprisoned and prosecuted ; some of them condemned and executed ; they thought it not safe to execute others till the War should be over, and therefore only kept them in Prison.

AT last it came to a general Seizure, and almost all the Protestant Gentlemen, without Reason or Pretence of Reason, without so much as a Warrant or Form of Law, were put in Goals under the Custody of mean and barbarous Guards, whose very Captains had had no better Education than that of Footmen or Cowherds ; who exercised what Understanding they had to invent new Methods of vexing their Prisoners. This general Confinement continued with most from the Middle of Summer 1689, till Winter ; and with some till King *William*'s Victory at the *Boyne* set them all at Liberty : During all which Time no Reason or Ground of their Committal was given ; nor were *Habeas Corpus*'s allowed them, though earnestly solicited. Most of the Prisoners, towards the Depth of Winter, were indeed bailed,

bailed, and continued so from Term to Term, till the News of King *William's* Arrival, and then all were confined anew, notwithstanding their Bail, with some that had not been confined before. At the Hour when the last of King *James's* Forces were leaving *Dublin*, they were ordered to carry away 400 Prisoners along with them; but the Officers were too much afraid of a Pursuit, and too busy in carrying off their own Baggage, to embarrass themselves with Prisoners; and therefore for a little Gold dismiss'd them.

DURING their Confinement the Prisoners were kept very strictly, their Servants, Children, and Wives were often debarred from seeing them, or when admitted, not suffered to speak to them but in Presence of the Soldiers. In *Dublin*, when they had filled the Goals, the Hospitals, the College, and other Places of Confinement, they at last imprisoned the Citizens in Churches. They were crowded into stinking, nasty, unhealthy Rooms, sometimes twenty, sometimes forty in a Room. At the College, and at a House called *White-Friars*, where there were many Prisoners, they put Barrels of Powder under them, threatening to blow them up if they should be prest, and not able to keep the Places. This Confinement did not only fall on Gentlemen, but also on the Clergy, nay, on the meanest Citizens. Whoever pleased had a Power to commit Protestants; and if at any Time they asked by what Authority they were committed, those that committed them made no other Answer than that *they committed them, let them get out as they could*. The Confinement was yet more severe and uneasy in the Country; the Gentlemen being at such Distances from their own Homes, that they could hardly be supplied with Necessaries.

IT may be thought that these Things were unknown to King *James*, and therefore are not to be imputed to him; but it is certain that if he did not contrive and order them, he yet consented to them, neither did he seem to have the least Resentment or Pity for their Sufferings.

BUT lest these Hardships and Restraints should either be avoided by our Flight, or known in *England*, where King *James* had a Party to cry up the Mildness

of his Government, and face down the World that the Protestants lived easily and happily under him in *Ireland*, a most strict Embargo was laid on all Ships, and effectual Care taken to destroy all Correspondence with our Friends there ; insomuch that to avoid a Goal, great Numbers of Gentlemen and other Persons were forced to make their Escapes in small Wherries and Fishing-Boats, which before these Times durst never venture out of the Sight of the Shoar : But it seemed more tolerable to every Body that could compass it to cross the *Irish* Seas, so famous for their Boisterousness and Shipwrecks, in that hazardous Manner, than to continue under a Government where they could call nothing their own ; where it was in the Power of any that pleased to deprive them of their Liberty ; where they durst not travel three Miles for fear of incurring the severest Penalties ; where they could not send a Letter to a Friend, though in the next Town, and about the most necessary Occasions ; and where, though never so cautious and innocent, they were sure at last to be sent to a Goal.

IT is Property that makes Government necessary ; and the immediate End of Government is to preserve Property ; where therefore a Government, instead of preserving, intirely ruins the Property of the Subject, that Government dissolves it self. Now this was the State of the Protestants in *Ireland* : The Government deprived them, contrary to Law and Justice, (nay, for the most part, without so much as the Pretext of a Crime) of every thing to which Persons can have a Property, even of the Necessaries of Life, Food, and Raiment. To lay this more fully before the Reader, I will shew first, That King *James* took away the Arms of Protestants : Secondly, That he took away their personal ; and, Thirdly, Their real Estates.

W H E N the Prince of *Orange* made his Descent into *England*, King *James* had an Army of Papists in *Ireland*, consisting of between seven and eight thousand, of which near four thousand were sent over to him into *England* ; there remained then about four thousand behind, scattered up and down the Kingdom ; which were

were but a Handful to the Protestants, there being Men and Arms enough in *Dublin* alone, to have dealt with them: When therefore the News came that King *James* had sent Commissioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, it was proposed by some to seize the Castle of *Dublin*, where the Stores of Arms and Ammunition lay. The Possibility of this was demonstrated, and the Success extreamly probable; insomuch that the Persons who offered to undertake it made no Doubt of effecting it: They considered that the Papists, besides the four thousand of the Army, were generally without Arms; that those who were in Arms were raw and cowardly, and might easily be suppress'd; that to do it effectually, there needed no more but to seize the Deputy *Tyrconnel*, who had not then above six hundred Men in the City to guard him, and secure it; that their Hearts were generally sunk, and they openly declared themselves to be desirous to lay down their Arms; proposing to themselves no other Conditions, but to return to the Station in which they were when King *James* came to the Crown. This was so universally talked of by themselves, that if any one could have assured them of these Terms, there was no doubt but that they would readily have complied, and have left the Lord *Tyrconnel* to shift for himself; nay, it is probable, the wiser Sort amongst them would have been glad that the Protestants had seized him; and he himself commanded some Protestants to signify to their Friends in *England*, That he was willing to part with the Sword on these Terms, so he might have Leave to do it from King *James*. But the Protestants had been educated in such a mighty Veneration to the very Name of Authority, and in so deep a Sense of Loyalty, that notwithstanding the many Provocations given them, and their Fear of being served as in 1641, the Memory of which was still fresh to them, they yet abhorred any thing that looked like an Insurrection against the Government; and generally condemned the Design of meddling with the Lord-Deputy, though they knew he was no legal Governour, and uncapable by the Law of that Trust. Especially the Lord *Mountjoy* laboured for his Safety, and prevented the forementioned Proposal

posal of seizing him and the Castle, with as much Industry as if he himself had been to perish in it.

THE Truth is, it was an unanimous Resolution of all the Protestants of the Kingdom, that they would not be the Aggressors; and they held stedily to their Resolution. None offer'd or attempted any thing, till they saw the whole Body of the Papists in *Ireland* forming themselves into Troops and Companies, and these new rais'd Men permitted, nay, put under a Necessity to rob and plunder for their Subsistence. They pitied the hard Fortune of King *James*, and notwithstanding they were half ruined themselves when he came into the Kingdom, yet if he had carried himself with any tolerable Moderation towards them, and his Designs to ruin them had not been so apparent, he might have prevailed on them in a great Measure. But his Behaviour was such, as shall appear in the Sequel of this Discourse, that it left no Room for them to expect or hope for any Safety under his Government; of which such Protestants as had followed him from *England* were generally so sensible, that many of them repented too late their having stuck to his Interest, and heartily wished themselves at home again; openly professing, that they could not have believed that he was such a Man, or his Designs such as they found them; nay, several of the *English* Papists that came from *France* with him abhor'd his Proceedings, and us'd to alledge, that he not only hated the *English* Protestant, but also the *English* Man. The very Ambassador *d'Avaux*, if he might be believed, was dissatisfied with King *James*'s Measures, and condemned them; alledging, that he had intirely given himself up to the Conduct of the bigotted *Irish* Clergy, and of *Tyrconnel*, who in Earnest was the only Minister he trusted, and would effectually ruin him and the Kingdom. Whatever the Ambassador thought, it is certain he has discours'd in this Manner, and the Event answer'd the Prediction.

BUT to return to the Lord *Tyrconnel*'s dealing with the Protestants. When he found himself so very weak, and so much in the Power of the Protestants, that nothing but their own Principles of Loyalty secur'd him against them, he betook himself to his usual Arts, that

is, of Falshood, Dissimulation, and of Flattery; which he practis'd with the deepest Oaths and Curses, protesting that he would be rid of the Government very willingly, so as it might be with Honour: That it was easy for him to ruin and destroy the Kingdom, and make it not worth one Groat; but impossible to preserve it for his Master. Every Body wondred to find so great a Truth come so frankly out of the Mouth of one they usually styl'd *Lying Dick Talbot*, and who had been known, not without Reason, many Years by that Name.

BUT whatever he profest of his being desirous to give up the Sword, 'tis certain he meant nothing less; and the Generality of Protestants believed, that he only design'd to gain Time and delude them, till he had gotten something like an Army to master them; and they had the more Reason to believe it, because whilst he profest the greatest Inclinations to Peace and Accommodation, he was most intent on providing for War, and gave out about five hundred Commissions of one sort or other in a Day; which yet he did in such a Manner as to make the least Noise, not passing them in the regular Forms, or entring them in the usual Offices, but antedating them, the more to delude and amuse the Protestants; which put the Muster-Master's Office out of Order ever after, most of these Commissions being never entred in it.

THESE new made Officers were set on Foot, partly on the first Noise of the Prince of *Orange's* Descent, and partly in the Beginning of *December*, 1688, and were without Money, Estate, or any other visible Means to raise their Troops and Companies, and to subsist (so they term'd maintaining) them for three Months, from the first of *January*; a thing impossible, without allowing them to steal and plunder. It was this struck so much Terror into Protestants, and made them so jealous and apprehensive of Danger, that they fled into *England* in great Numbers, especially when they found that the new raised Men, as they surmised, began to make Havock of all things.

IN order to gain Time and delude the Protestants, the Lord Deputy sent for the Lord *Mountjoy* out of the North, and perswaded him to go with Chief Baron Ricc

Rice to King James into France, to represent to him the Weakness of the Kingdom, and the Necessity to yield to the Time, and wait a better Opportunity to serve himself of his Irish Subjects. The Lord Tyrconnel swore most solemnly that he was in Earnest in this Message; and that he knew the Court of France would oppose it with all their Power; for, said he, that Court minds nothing but their own Interest, and they would not care if Ireland were sunk to the Pit of Hell (they are his own Words) so they could give the Prince of Orange but three Months Diversion. But he added, If the King be persuaded to ruin his fastest Friends to do himself no Service, only to gratify France, he is neither so merciful nor so wise as I believe him to be. If he recover England, Ireland will fall in course; but he can never expect to conquer England by Ireland; if he attempts it, he ruins Ireland to do himself no Kindness, but rather to exasperate England the more against him, and make his Restoration impossible; and he intimated, that if the King would not do it, he would look on his Refusal to be forced on him by those in whose Power he was, and that he would think himself obliged to do it without his Consent.

EVERY Body told the Lord Mountjoy that this was all Sham and Trick, and that the Design was only to amuse the Protestants, and get him, who was the likeliest Man to head them, out of the Way. But his Answer was, That his going into France could have no Influence on the Councils of England, who were neither privy nor Parties to it; and if they had a Mind to reduce the Kingdom, it was easy to do it without his Assistance: That he must either go on his Message, now the Deputy had put him upon it, or enter into an actual War against him, and against such as adhered to King James's Interest: That he did not think it safe to do the latter, having no Order or Encouragement from England; but, on the contrary, all the Advice he received from thence was to be quiet and not to meddle: That he was obliged to King James, and neither Honour, Conscience, nor Gratitude would permit him in his present Circumstances to make a War on his own Authority against him, whilst there was any Possibility of doing the Business without one. Upon these Considera-

under King James II.

derations, against the general Opinion of all the Protestants in *Ireland*, he undertook the Business, and went away from *Dublin* about the tenth of *January*, 1688, having first had these general Concessions made him in Behalf of the Protestants ; 1. That no more Commissions should be given out, or new Men raised. 2. That no more of the Army should be sent into the North. 3. That none should be questioned for what was passed. And, 4. That no private House should be garrisoned or disturbed with Soldiers. These he sent about with a Letter. But he was no sooner gone, but the Lord Deputy, according to his usual Method of Falshood, denied these Concessions, seemed mighty angry at the dispersing the Letter, and refused to observe any of them. The first News we heard from *France*, was, that the Lord *Mountjoy* was put into the *Bastile*, which further exasperated the Protestants against King *James*, and made them look on him as a Violater of Publick Faith to his Subjects. As for the Lord Deputy, this clearly ruined his Credit (if ever he had any) amongst them, and they could never after be brought to give the least belief to what he said ; on the contrary they look'd on it as a sure sign that a thing was false if he earnestly affirmed it.

BUT it was not yet in his Power to master them ; he had not sufficiently Trained and Exercised his Men ; but as soon as he found that nothing was to be feared from *England* before the End of Summer, and that he was assured King *James* would be with him soon, he laid aside his Vizour, and fell upon disarming them : It was no difficult matter to do this ; for in the very beginning of King *James*'s Reign, the Protestant Militia had been dissolved, and though they had bought their own Arms, yet they were required to bring them into the Stores, and they punctually obeyed the Order : Such of the Protestant Army as remained in the Kingdom after their Cashiering, were likewise without Arms, being, as I shewed before, both disarmed and stripped upon their being turned out. It was therefore a Wonder that the Protestants had any Arms at all, especially when it is to be remembred, that during King *James*'s Reign, they durst not be seen to buy or import them,

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Affairs in Ireland

being under the Jealousy and Suspicion of the Government: However some they had, enough to make the Papists afraid, and to beat them too, if they had had a little Assistance and Encouragement of Authority to attempt it. The Lord Deputy was therefore resolved to have their Arms; and in order to get them, he drew Nine or Ten Regiments to *Dublin*, and a proportional Party to every place where the Number of Protestants was considerable; and without the least Notice or Declaration premised, on the 24th of *February*, 1688, he took away their Arms and Horses throughout the whole Kingdom, except in the North, where he durst not yet attempt it. The Method of doing it in *Dublin* was this, he filled all the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horse; and then for so much of the City as lies within the Walls, he sent the City-Officers to signify to every House, that if they did not send in every Sword and Bayonet, as well as Fire-Arms, in their Possession into the Churches, (which were generally seized for this use and filled with Soldiers,) they should be left to the Mercy and Discretion of the Soldiers, both as to their Lives and Goods. This was perfect Dragooning to the Protestants; nor is it easie to express what a Consternation it caused amongst them; the Preparation at first looked like a Design to put in Execution (what they long feared) a general Massacre. While they had their Arms in their Hands, it gave them some Heart, resolving to sell their Lives dear; but when they saw these now taken from them, this Support failed, and they had no Prospect of Defence, but generally imagined that their Arms were taken away in order to the more easie Execution of the designed Massacre. They knew themselves to be the only Persons qualified by Law to keep or carry Arms; they knew the malicious Designs of the *Irish* against them; they considered how necessary their Arms were at this time, not only to preserve their Goods, which were every Day robb'd, and their Houses that were every Night broken open, but likewise to secure their Persons, that were daily assaulted; and yet, to avoid this terrible Dragooning, they were forced to part with them, and immediately delivered in near 3000 Fire-Arms, besides Swords, Bayonets,

nets, and Pikes, in *Dublin* only. At the same time some Hundreds of Horses were likewise taken, without any other reason than that they belong'd to Protestants. Without the Walls it was much worse than in the City ; the Inhabitants there were not so much as required to bring in their Arms, but generally the Soldiers came and searched for them, on pretence of which, Five or Six Parties after one another, without Method or Order, rifled the Houses: In many Places they pull'd up the Boards of the Floors, brake down the Wainscots, Stealing and Plundering whatever they could lay their Hands on, and sometimes torturing the poor People to make them confess their Arms.

THE next Day after this disorderly Dragooning, came out a Proclamation dated *February 25, 1688*, signifying that this disarming and taking away Horses, was done by order of the Government, throughout all *Ireland*, there being only a Verbal Order for it before, of which the Protestants knew nothing, and which the Proclamation contradicted ; for Wearing-Swords were excepted in it, whereas the Verbal Order is said to have mentioned them, and they were delivered with great exactness before the Proclamation came out ; for no Body could hope to conceal them, it being known that every Gentleman had a Wearing-Sword, yet none were re-delivered to them though demanded ; and a second Proclamation published by King *James* himself, dated *July 20, 1689*, did expressly forbid all Protestants to wear or keep any Swords, under the penalty of being counted Rebels and Traitors, and used as such ; and lest some should wear them and not be discovered, they beset all the Church-Doors on *Sunday* Morning, *February* the *23d, 1689*, whilst the Protestants were at their Devotion, to their great Terror, being ignorant of the Design ; and the Soldiers searched every one whether he had a Sword or no.

BUT to return to the general disarming : Though the Protestants lost in it their Horses and Arms, the King's Stores gained little by them ; for the Soldiers who received the Arms imbezzl'd all that were better than ordinary amongst them, conveying them away privately, and converting them to their own use. The

Arms

Arms of the Citizens were generally fine, and the Gentlemen's Swords were Silver, and the Soldiers that got them were wiser than to return such to the Stores. The Lord Deputy seemed angry that so few Arms were returned, imputed it to the Citizens as an Effect of their Obsturacy, and an Order was ready drawn for him to sign, wherein it was declared, That all Protestants with whom any Arms were found, should be given up to the Mercy of the Soldiers; so that there needed only some ill Fellows to come into a House, and drop a Bayonet or Sword in a Corner, and pretend to find it there, for the Soldiers to have rifled whom they pleased; besides which, all Protestants were to be required upon Oath to discover their Arms. This Order had been signed and put in Execution, if the Bishop of Meath had not come in seasonably to the Lord Deputy, and by discoursing him calmly, prevailed to have it laid aside. He got Leave to enquire into the Number of Arms taken away, and found upon Examination, that more had been taken from one Parish, than had been returned into the Store from the whole City.

THE Management of taking up Horses was yet more disorderly; whoever pleased took them, and was not so much as obliged to tell his Name: The Proclamation mentioned only serviceable Horses, but the verbal Order that went before, and on which they were taken, made no Distinction; so all were taken that could be found; at the best, it was left to the Discretion of a Dragoon, when he would count a serviceable Horse, and what he would do with them when he had taken them; so that of 10000 Horses at least that were taken from the Protestants at that Time, the King received not 100, nor had he one Troop raised out of them, but whoever could get a Horse, whether he were Officer or Soldier, from a Protestant, went away with it, and converted it to his private use; of which the Lord Deputy complains in a Proclamation dated March the 1st, 1688; but this Proclamation, tho' dated the 1st of March, was not published till the 12th: The Reason of the Delay was this; the Proclamation order'd Horses that were not fit for Service to be restored; and if it had come out according to the Date thereof, many Protestants

testants that knew in whose Hands their Horses were would have claimed them: To defeat them therefore, some that had Interest with the Deputy, got the Proclamation delayed till those that took them might have Time to convey them far enough from being found. And this was their usual Method, they first did the Mischief they intended to the Protestants, and then they published some antedated Proclamation, forbidding it to be done; and sometimes when a Proclamation came out, before they had gone through with what they intended, they denied to be concluded by it, alledging it came out surreptitiously, as it happened in this very Case of searching for Arms.

THE Earl of Tyrconnel, when made Deputy of Ireland, found the Riches of the Kingdom in the Hands of Protestants; the Flocks, the Herds, the rich Household-Stuff and Plate, beneficial Leases, improved Rents, Trade and Money, were almost intirely theirs; whereas the Papists by their Idleness, Ignorance, and numerous begging Clergy, were so low in their Fortunes, that they were in no Condition to raise or maintain such an Army as was necessary to carry on his Designs in this Kingdom; and he was sure the Protestants that had the Riches, would not contribute to support them: He therefore applied himself with all Art and Industry to impoverish them. He did what he could, as I have already shew'd, to destroy their Trade; he put all the Hardships imaginable on Protestant Tenants, that they might not be able to pay their Rents, and he encouraged the Popish Tenants to oppose their Landlords: It was whispered amongst them, that they need not pay their Rents, for the Land in a little time would be their own; they were taught to answer when their Rents were demanded, that they had spent what they designed for their Landlords, to fit themselves or their Sons for the King's Service; and he was sure to be represented as disaffected, that did not sit down with this Answer. If any Landlord was so hard as to sue them, they either got themselves enlisted in the Army, or got a particular Protection against Arrests.

SOMETIMES they avoided paying Rents, by Swearing their Protestant Landlords into a Plot, or by affixing Treasonable Words on them; insomuch that hardly any Protestant durst distrain, or even demand his Rents: And for two Years before the Revolution in *England*, very few received any Profit out of their Estates. This stop of Receipts for so long time, obliged Gentlemen to live upon the main Stock, and for want of their growing Rents, which should have answered their Expences, they were as low as possible in ready Money, when the late Troubles fell upon them; and this made many of them on their Flight to *England* need Charity for their Subsistence.

THIS Hardship was the more heavy upon them, by the necessity they lay under of leaving their Farms and settled manner of Living in the Country, and of either repairing to *Dublin*, or removing into *England*, where nothing could be useful to them but ready Money; yet this was unavoidable, for there was no Living for them amongst a People that made no Conscience to pilfer or rob them of their Goods, or to lay Snares for their Lives by false Oaths and suborned Evidence: Neither did their repairing to Cities and Towns protect them, but the same Persons that drove them from their Country Houses by their Robberies and Oppressions, did afterwards indict and imprison them for leaving them. Some indeed, notwithstanding all the hard usage they met with, ventured to stay on their Concerns in the Country; but were at last burnt out of their Houses, and forced to follow their Neighbours.

ADD to this, that tho' of a good while the Protestants got nothing out of their Estates, yet they were put to vast Charges to defend them; for the Papists having gotten Judges, Juries, and Sheriffs of their own, brought in their Counterfeit Deeds and false Claims in great Numbers, and either in *forma Pauperum*, or by the favour of the Courts, carried on their Suits with little Expences; and when worsted in them, as sometimes, in spite of the most manifest partiality, they were, there was nothing to be recovered of them; whereas the Protestants were forced to row against the Stream,

and to struggle with all the expensive delays and tricks the Courts could put on them. If at any time they were found tardy in the least Circumstance or Form of Law, tho' no advantage used formerly to be made of such Mistakes, yet they were sure to pay severely for it. Every Body who has been concerned in Law business, knows the difference of these Cases as to Expences; and the Consequence was, that Protestants were forced to part with a considerable share of their ready Money, to recover or defend their Estates, which when in their Possession yielded them nothing.

THEY met with the same measure from the Treasury, as from their Tenants; where any Salary, Pension or Payment was due to any of them from the King, they either did not get it all, or if by Importunity and Interest they did get any thing, it was with such Expences, Bribes to Courtiers, and Delays, that they lost the benefit of it. But where any thing was due from them, it was exacted with all the rigour imaginable, and the most strict Punctilio's observed to bring them under Fines and Forfeitures. And such Discouragement and Discourteance was given to the Protestant Lawyers, that many of the most celebrated Counsellors forsook their Practice and the Kingdom; and such as staid could hardly come in for a share of the Fees expended by their former Protestant Clients; for it was enough to destroy a Cause, to have them appear at the Bar for it. The Consequence of which was, that the Protestants were forced to employ their Enemies for Council, and give them their Money too often to betray the Cause; at least they could not expect Lawyers that wished so ill to it and them in their Hearts, would be earnest to carry it for them.

IN Cities and Corporate Towns, the Townsmen were put to great Charges to defend their Charters; and when Judgment was given against them, they were sometimes put to another Charge to take them out anew, and were to purchase their Freedoms. It is true, some few Papists generally joyned to take out the new Charter; but when it was taken out, they forced the Protestants to pay for it what rate they pleased, or obliged them to

leave the Town. The Attorney General got some Thousands for his share, and every petty Officer and Head of a County Burrough, enrich'd himself with some part of the Protestants Spoil on this Account.

THE next means used to impoverish them was that of Free Quarters, by which they extorted from the Inn-keepers vast Sums of Money: It was a hardship in times of Peace to be obliged to entertain such rude nasty Guests as the private Soldiers generally were, and to endure the Insolencies of their Officers, who practised several Arts with a design to destroy their Quarters. Sometimes they would quarter a whole Troop of Horse on Two or Three Protestant Inns for some Months together, till they wearied them out of their Trade, drove away their Guests, and broke them: Sometimes they would compound for a Sum of Money to be gone, and then immediately send another Party as bad as themselves to succeed them; by which means they ruined all the little Towns about *Dublin*, and broke the Inhabitants. The very first thing they did after they had gotten into the Army, was to set a Rate on Diet, on Hay, and on Oats, not above one third of what it cost the Inn-keeper; a thing to which they had been Strangers before; but it seemed tolerable, in respect of the Free-Quarters to which they pretended afterwards, tho' in effect it came to the same thing for they went away and never paid a Farthing for Meat or Drink, or any other Conveniences allowed them in their Quarters; only some gave Bills which were never paid; nay, they were not content to have their Meat and Drink and Quarters free, but they so ordered the matter, that their Quarters were generally better to them than their Pay: They commonly had Bills on three or four Houses apiece, every one of which paid them a certain rate *per Week*; one private Soldier bragg'd that he had Fifteen Quarters: The rate paid out of them was according to the quality of the House, and the Person that had the Billet; the veriest was 18d. or 12d. *per Week*, and the Allowance to the Officers was proportional: The truth of this is notorious to all in *Dublin*, and is demonstrable from the

Number

Number of Publick Houses which were obliged to quarter Men, compared with the Number of Men quartered in them. The Houses were double in Number to the Soldiers, and yet every House had one or Two Soldiers at the least, some Three, some Four quartered on them; for which they paid Weekly; and yet so unreasonable were these Creatures, that this would not satisfy them, but they would go up and down the Country Stealing and Plundering Meat and Drink, and forcing the poor Protestants to bring forth their whole Stock of Provisions, of which they used to eat what they pleased, and then destroy the rest, that the *Damned Whigs*, (that is, in their constant Dialect, the Protestants,) *might not have the benefit of it*: It was in vain to grumble or complain; Instead of Remedy they were sure to have the Injury redoubled upon them. If any ventured to prosecute a notorious Robbery committed by a Soldier, their Officers appeared in the Court for them, and openly threatened the Jury if they found them Guilty. And in the very Council, *Alberville* publicly owned that the Protestants durst not complain, *except they had a Mind to be Massacred*: I use his Words.

THE Priests and Friars were no less oppresive than the Soldiers; they Multiplied in *Dublin* to Three or Four Hundred at the least; they were well Fed and well Cloathed; there were not more Lusty Plump Fellows in the Town than they, insomuch that they were remarkable for it; and reckoning that they consumed but Twenty Pound apiece one with another, which was the least, they cost the Town Eight Thousand Pound *per Annum*; which is near Four Times more than all the Protestant Clergy in Town received; they built about Fourteen Chappels and Convents in *Dublin*, and set up Two Nunneries, all which came to a great Sum; and a great part of it came out of the Protestants Pockets, for they were such experienced Beggars, that none escaped them, and so importunate that none durst refuse them; if any did, they must expect to be the next who were Robbed: They must be content to be Accused and Committed, either on some secret Whisper,

or false Accusation. The Insolency of the Friars may be guessed at by their Carriage to the Lord Primate Boyle. Two of them came to demand Money of him; and because he refused them, they procured a Warrant from Sir Thomas Hacket to commit his Son in Law and Nephew: But others were forced to buy their Peace by large Contribution to them.

THUS the Case stood with the Protestants of Ireland long before the Revolution happened in England: Their Rents and Receipts were stopt, their Expences multiplied, and many were driven from their Houses and Farms; their Trade decayed, and their Towns and Villages destroyed by Robberies and Free Quarters: But as soon as the new Levies, upon Pretence of resisting the Prince of Orange, were made, the Mischief became much more universal and intolerable; whereas before only Inns and Publick Houses, together with Brewers, Bakers, Butchers and Chandlers, were obliged to quarter Soldiers, this Burthen was now extended to all Gentlemen of the best Quality, if Protestants, none being exempted. This happened soon after the Lord Mountjoy's going to France, though the Lord Deputy, as I noted before, did positively engage to him to the contrary in his Articles; these new Guests committed all manner of Rudeness and Insolencies in their Quarters, and drove away as many of the Gentry and Citizens as could steal a Passage, or procure a License to be gone by bribing the Secretary. Sir William Domville, a Gentleman of about Eighty Years of Age, who had been Attorney-General near Thirty Years, as has been said, had his House filled with them; they treated the old Gentleman so rudely and barbarously, that all concluded it hastned his Death. Some Roman Catholicks, that were not known to belong to the Army, would come to the Houses of Protestants, and agree with them for their best Rooms and suitable Attendance; and when they were to go away, and should have paid, instead of Money they would present a Billet, and then triumph in the Trick they had put upon their Landlords. There are in Dublin above Seven

Seven thousand Houses, and it was very rare that King James had Four thousand of the Army in Town, and yet they ordered it so, that every House had more or less quartered upon it: Some Gentlemen had ten, some twenty, nay, some thirty quartered on them; if there was no other Room, they turned the Master or Mistress of the Family out of their own Beds, and sent both them and their Lodgers to provide for themselves: Not only Soldiers were thus quarter'd, but likewise all Gentlemen, Priests, Fryars, and some Noblemen that came with King James from France, together with their Servants and Retinue. All the Houses in Town were taken up with such Guests, who were often treacherous Spies on their Hosts, and reckoned themselves very kind, if they did not procure them to be clapt up by a false Information. How heavy these things fell on the Citizens, may be conjectured from this; the Rents of the City were considerable, and many Gentlemen's Estates consisted in them: But now they thought themselves happy, if their Tenants would stay in their Houses, and keep them in Repair, though they paid no Rents at all. In the best inhabited Places of the Town, where Houses about two Years before yielded sixty Pounds apiece, they were well contented if they could get ten Pounds, or the Ground-Rent; but it was a Chance if they got so much.

THUS Estates, both in City and Country, were rendered fruitless to Protestants; but yet whilst the Cattle and the great Manufactories and Staple Commodities of the Kingdom were in their Hands; whilst they had the Wooll, the Hides, the Tallow, and Butter, which bring in all the Money that is in the Kingdom, all the former Arts would not have undone them, and therefore some Means must be used to get their Stocks from them. It seemed not decent for the Government to seize on them, as they seized on our Horses and Arms; it was not thought fit to give a positive Order for doing it. The Truth is, there was no Need of it; it was sufficient to connive at the new-raised Men to have it effectually done; the Priests had made every Man that came to Mass to get a Skean and Half-Pike at least,

and they whispered to the People, that it was not for nothing that they were thus armed. They assured them, that whatever Injury they did their Protestant Neighbours would be forgiven them, only they advised them not to shed Blood. Sometimes they went along to see it effectually done ; and sometimes they imposed it as a Penance on such as came to them for Absolution, to rob some of their Protestant Neighbours. This may seem improbable, but we have had credible Informations of it, and it will not seem so unlikely, if we consider that the Priests often led them out to these Plunders, and stood by whilst they committed them ; that all these Robbers were absolved by them, without restoring one Sheep ; which could not be, if the Priests reckoned the taking and keeping them a Sin ; and, lastly, that some of the greatest of these Robberies were committed in *Lent*, when they do their Penances, and eat no Flesh ; and therefore they could not be tempted at that Time to steal and kill in order to eat : For in some Places they killed whole Flocks, and left them dead on the Place. These Robberies began in *November 1688*, and by the End of *March* next after, they left hardly one Protestant in *Ireland* a Cow or Sheep. *Ireland* has always been famous for its Pastures, and the Riches of it has always consisted in Cattle, of which many Gentlemen had vast Stocks ; for a Man to have six, eight or ten thousand Sheep was very common ; some had more, even to twenty thousand : All these were gone in three Months, to the Value of at least a Million of Money, which if rightly managed, would with the Cows and Bullocks, of which there were likewise great Herds, have furnished an Army of an hundred thousand Men with Flesh enough for three Years. Those who took them from the Protestants, destroyed them without Consideration, they killed them by Fifties and Sixties, and threw them into Bog-pits ; they took off their Skins, and left their Carcasses to rot, and made all the Havock of them imaginable.

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THE Protestants, by the Deputy's taking away their Horses, and the Army their Cattle, were put out of a Possibility of living in the Country, or of making any thing of their Farms by Plowing or Grazing, and had saved nothing but their Household-Stuff and Money; only some of them, when they saw the *Irish* taking away their Cattle, slaughtered part of them, barrell'd them up, and sent them to *Dublin*, and other Towns; they preserved likewise their Hides and Tallow of the Year 1688, not having any Vent for them; and the Merchants upon the same Account were stor'd with such Commodities as used to be sent Yearly into *England*, or Foreign Parts: And many of these went out of the Kingdom for their own Safety, and left their Goods in the Hands of their Servants or Friends. Their going away, though they had License for it, and those Licenses not expired, was made a Pretence to seize their Goods; and in *March* 1688, the Officers of the Army throughout the Kingdom, without any Law or Legal Authority, by Order from the Lord Deputy, seized all Goods, Houses, Lands, &c. belonging to any who were out of the Kingdom; there was no other Reason given for this, but that it was the Deputy's Pleasure it should be so: In *May* the Commissioners of the Revenue took it out of the Soldiers Hands; and that they might be the better able to go through with it, endeavoured to procure from their pretended Parliament an Act to confirm all they had done till that Time, and further to empower them to examine Witnesses upon Oath concerning concealed Goods of Absentees: The Bill as it was drawn by the Commons, added a Power to oblige every Body to discover upon Oath what they conceal'd belonging to their absent Friends, and to commit whom they pleased without Bail and Mainprize during Pleasure, not excepting the Peers of the Realm; which made the House of Lords correct these Clauses, and several others in the Bill, upon the Motion and earnest Struggling of the Bishop of *Meath*; though the Commissioners did in a great measure put the Act in Execution, as the Commons intended

tended it; for wherever they expected any Goods of Absentees to be, they sent and seized all that was in the Place, and then refused to restore any thing to the Owners, but upon Oath that it was their own proper Goods; the rest they supposed to belong to some Absentee, and made it lawful Prize: All such being by the Act vested in the King, tho' the Owners who were absent, without any Fault of their own, should have come back and claimed; by which Act all Protestants that had fled for their Refuge into *England*, or any other Place, or were gone upon their lawful Occasions, to the Number of many Thousands, were absolutely divested of all their Personal Fortunes, and cut off from all Claim to their Goods and Chattels. whatever.

THE Condition of those who staid behind, was very little better; so many Contrivances were set on Foot to ruin them, and take away the little Goods that were yet left them, that they were as effectually destroyed as their Neighbours that went for *England*: They knew that, besides Goods, the Protestants had some ready Money and Plate; their chief Aim was to come by them, and several Ways were thought of to effect it; sometimes they were for setting up a Mint, and for forcing every Body to bring in on Oath to be coined whatever Plate was in their Possession: Sometimes they were for searching Houses, and seizing all they found; but these Methods were looked on as too violent, and not likely to succeed if they should put them in Practice: They therefore deferr'd these for the present, and apply'd themselves to the following Courses, by which they got from us a great Part of our Money, Plate and Goods; and if our Deliverance had not been speedy, would infallibly have got the rest.

FIRST, They would pretend for a Sum of Money to procure License for a Ship to go off, and when they had gotten the Money, and the People had shipped themselves and their Effects, they then ordered the Ship to be unloaded again, and seized all the Money and Plate they found, which had been privately conveyed on Shipboard, though not forfeited by any Law.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, They would take off the Embargo which was generally laid on Ships, and pretend they would suffer the Merchants to Trade: And as soon as they had got the Custom-Houses full of Goods, and received vast Rates for Custom, besides Bribes to the Officers that attended the Ships, they would put on the Embargo again, stop the Goods, and not return one Farthing.

THIRDLY, They promised Licenses for *England* to all who would pay for them; and when they had gotten vast Sums from the Crowd that prest to get away, they would then stop the Ships, and make their Licenses useless: There was nothing to be done without a Bribe; at what Rate may be imagined from this, that an ordinary Tide-Waiter, one *White* at *Rings-End*, was accounted to have gotten in Bribes for conniving at Peoples going off, at least One thousand Pounds in a few Months.

FOURTHLY, All Protestants that lived in the Country were forced to take out Protections; these were sold at great Rates, and it was not sufficient to buy them once, they were often voided, either by new Orders, or the Change of Governours; and then they were obliged to take them out anew: Some had Protections not only for their Goods, but likewise for some Arms and Horses, and renewed them five or six times, paying a good Rate for them every Time; and yet at last they lost all their Horses, Arms, and Goods, as well as their Neighbours who had no Protections.

FIFTHLY, Where they learnt any Man had Money, they seized him on some Pretence or other; and if they found the Money, it was sufficient Evidence of his Guilt; they sent him to Gaol, and converted the Money to their own Use; at the worst, they knew it was only restoring it in Brats. Thus they served Mr. *Heuston* in *Bridgstreet*, and Mr. *Gabriel King* in the County of *Roscommon*, who could never get any Satisfaction for his Silver and Plate thus taken from him; and the Case was the same with many others.

SIXTHLY, In several Places the Governours went into Mens Houses and Shops, and seized what they found,

found, without the Formality of a Pretence, and took it away. Cork was used at this rate ; their Governour, Monsieur Boislot, not failing in any Punctilio of his Country Dragooning ; and he is supposed to have sent off for France to the Value of Thirty thousand Pounds in Money, Leather, and other Commodities, the Spoils of the Protestants in that rich Town.

SEVENTHLY, The Parliament granted the King a Tax of Twenty thousand Pound *per Month* for thirteen Months ; which the Kingdom could hardly have paid, if it had been in its most flourishing Condition ; but they knew it would fall most heavy on the Protestants, who must be forced to pay it out of their ready Money, having lost their Stocks generally by plundering, and deprived of their Rents and Incomes.

BECAUSE the Protestants in and about Dublin had saved some Hides, Tallow, Wooll, &c. King James, by Pretence of his Prerogative Royal, laid a Tax of Twenty thousand Pounds *per Month*, for three Months, on Chattels, because the Twenty thousand Pounds *per Month* granted by the Parliament was only on Lands.

THIS Way of levying Money did startle every Body ; the pretended Parliament was then in Being, and was adjourned till January 12, 1689, which happened to be about the very Time when the King and his Council were upon this Project. Some in the Council oppos'd it, and pleaded the No-Necessity of using extraordinary Ways of levying Money, when the King might have it in the ordinary Way ; and further, that it would give Advantage to his Enemies, and be an Argument of his affecting an Arbitrary Power : But he was very angry with those that opposed it, and told them, That they had made him believe it was a Branch of his Prerogative to levy Money, and if he could not do it, he could do nothing. Chancellor Fitton appeared zealously for it, and 'twas carried that the Money should be raised ; but it being a new Thing, they were at a Loss how to go about it : At last they issued out a Proclamation, dated February 4, 1689, wherein it is ordered and declared, That a Contribution of Twenty thousand

and Pounds per Month, for the Space of three Months, ending the last Day of January last past, shall be forthwith applothed, laid in, and levied upon the personal Estates of all Sorts. And the Apploitation is ordered to be made by Commissioners to be named by the King, who were to proceed according to Instructions forthwith to be published by him. Albaville, the Secretary of State, thought it sufficient to send Letters signed only by himself; in which he named and instructed the Commissioners.

THE Contrivance of making Brass-Money pass instead of Silver, and at an equal Value with it, was an utter and unavoidable Ruine to the Protestants: It is true, the Coining of Money is a Prerogative of the Crown, and the Reason of its being so, is to prevent its being adulterated, the King's Honour and Interest being the Engagement and Security for the Coin that bears his Impression. But sure the Meaning was not, that he should give a Value to what has no Value in it self; otherwise the Cautiousness of our Forefathers was ridiculous, who would not allow the King by his Prerogative to raise Money, either by Loan or Subsidy from the Subject; since, if it be allowed that he may set what Value he please upon Brass, he may have what he thinks fit from the Kingdom without troubling a Parliament. But King James's Council used not to stick at the Formalities of Law or Reason, and therefore vast Quantities of Brass-Money were coined, and made current by a Proclamation dated June 18, 1689, under severe Penalties. The Metal of which this Money was made was the worst Kind of Brass; old Guns and the Refuse of Metals were melted down to make it; Workmen rated it at Three-pence or a Groat a Pound, which being coined into Six-pences, Shillings or Half-crowns, one Pound Weight made about five Pounds; and by another Proclamation, dated 1690, the Half-crowns were called in, and being stamped anew, were made to pass for Crowns; so that then 3 d. or 4 d. Worth of Metal made 10 l. There was coined in all, from the first setting up of the Mint to the Rout at the Boyne, being about Twelve Months, 965375 L

In this Coin King *James* paid all his Appointments, and all that received the King's Pay being generally Papists, they forced the Protestants to part with their Goods out of their Shops for this Money, and to receive their Debts in it: But the Protestants having only good Silver or Gold, and Goods bought with these, when they wanted any thing from Papists, they were forced to part with their Gold and Silver, having no Means of coming by the Brass-Money out of the King's Hands; so that the Loss by the Brass-Money did in a manner entirely fall upon the Protestants, being defrauded (for I can call it no better) of about 60000*l.* per Month by this Stratagem. When the Papists had gotten most of their saleable Goods from their Protestant Neighbours, and yet great Quantities of Brass-Money remain'd in their Hands, they began to consider how many of them who had Estates, had engaged them to Protestants by Judgments, Statute Staples, and Mortgages: This was all the Reserve of their Fortunes left the Protestants. And to take this likewise from them, they procured a Proclamation, dated *February 4, 1689*, to make the Brass-Money current in all Payments whatsoever, whereas at first Judgments, &c. were excepted: Thus they rid themselves of their Brass-Money, and put it on Protestants. The Chancellor *Fittion* compelling the Trustees for Orphans and Widows to receive their Mortgages, &c. in this Coin, as well as others, though they pleaded that they knew not how to dispose of it, nor, if they did know, could they legally receive it, or make use of it, being only Trustees. Sometimes it was pleaded, That by the Original Covenants they were to have a certain Time of Warning, before they should be obliged to receive their Money, though offered them in Silver: But all signified nothing, the Chancellor overruled all their Pleas, and placed the Brass-Money on them, not so much as allowing it to remain in the Court.

BY these Means vast Quantities of Brass Money were lodged in the Hands of Protestants; and not knowing what else to do with it, they laid it out on the staple Commodities of the Kingdom, such as Hides, Tallow, Wooll,

Wooll, Corn, &c. These they bought up at any Rate, as supposing they might some Time turn to Account, whereas the Brass Money could signify nothing. The Papists were aware of it, and therefore put the King upon taking these again out of their Hands, which they contrived thus; They put out a Proclamation, by which they set a Rate upon Commodities, dated *February 28, 1689*: Then the King declared he wanted certain Quantities of these Goods, and that he would have them at the Proclamation Rates. The Lord Mayor first, then the Commissioners of the Revenue, and afterwards Sir *Thomas Hacket* and others, were employ'd to search for them and seize them.

SOME Gentlemen had saved their Wooll of the Year 1688, and had placed it in *Dublin* and the Port-Towns, designing to send it off as soon as the Seas were open; and it was all they had to begin the World with, their Estates being taken from them by Act of Parliament, and their Stocks and Household Goods by Robbers; but now this Remainder of their Fortunes was taken from them by the King himself; and when they press'd the Commissioners of the Revenue to know the Reason why they were thus used, it was answered them by Sir *Patrick Trant*, That he would not give any Reason to *such Rogues*; but at last, when urged, he told them, It was because they were Protestants. Some, particularly Mr. *Piercy* the Merchant, being ask'd by Sir *Thomas Hacket* whether he was willing to part with his Goods, answered very calmly, That he was not willing if he could help it. His saying so was reckoned a high Crime, and he was brought before Colonel *Lutterell*, Governour of *Dublin*, who put the same Question to him, and upon his making the same Answer, condemned him, in his Passion, to be hanged for opposing the *King's Will*. He sent up and down for the Provo's to execute the Sentence, and swore many Oaths that he would have it done immediately. Mr. *Piercy* continued under this Sentence for two Hours, during which Time the Provo's could not be found, tho' diligent Search was made for them; at last the Governour, wearied with waiting, and not able to find any to execute

cute his Sentence, was, by some Intercession made to him, content to dismiss Mr. *Piercy* for that Time. Some Protestants offered to transport their Goods themselves into *France*, and bring back such things as the King needed ; but this was refused them ; and the Design being to ruin them, such Goods as came to them from *France* were seiz'd on, and put into the Hands of Papists, to be disposed of by them, and the right Owners not suffered so much as to oblige a Friend with a little Salt or a Rundlet of Brandy. As to the Goods thus taken up, King *James* disposed of them to Mr. *Labady*, and other Papists ; so that this appeared to be a meer Contrivance to get the Goods out of the Protestants Hands, and enrich the Papists ; and not, as was pretended, to supply the King's Necessity.

SOME Protestants had laid out their Brass Money in Corn and Malt ; of this Commodity Brewers, Maltsters, and Bakers had good Quantities, and some private Persons laid in enough for themselves and Families, and perhaps a little to spare. Some likewise had Provisions of Bisket, barrelled Beef, and Bacon, not knowing how the Market might be furnish'd after such Destruction of Provisions. There was a general Search made for all these, and they were, for the most Part, taken away, or seized for the King's use. It was criminal to have barrelled Beef or Bisket in a House, and Alderman *Giels Meigh* was clapp'd up in Prison for the Treason of having some hundred of Bisket. The like happened to several others, they alledging that such as had them designed them for *Schomberg's* Army. We were at a Loss what the Meaning of taking away Corn from Protestant Farmers, House-keepers, and Bakers should be, when there was no Scarcity in the Kingdom, and the Markets, if left open, were sufficient to furnish all ; but Sir *Robert Parker*, and some others, blab'd it out in the Coffee-House, That they designed to starve one half of the Protestants, and hang the other ; and that it would never be well till this were done.

THEY found it a hard Matter to get Copper or Brass to serve the Mint. There were on this Account several Searches made in Town ; and first the Braziers Shops were

were pillaged, and then the Citizens Kitchens of their Brass Pots, Skellets, Boylers; and their Houses of Brass Utensils, even to the Knockers of Doors; hardly one such was left in the whole City: Under the pretence of this they ordered their Emissaries to take a private Inventory of whatever they saw in the Possession of Protestants; of which they made their Uses as they had Occasion, and intended more if their Power had continued.

THE Deputy-Mayor of *Dublin*, *Edmund Reily*, issued out an Order, dated Sept. 27, 1689, for regulating the Rates of Provisions, Country Goods, and Manufactories, to be sold in the City of *Dublin*; in which he took care to set a very low Rate on such Goods as were then most in the hands of Protestants, the Rate at which he ordered them to be sold, was not one half of what they generally yielded. When therefore any Papist had a Mind to put off his Brass Money, he went to some Protestant Neighbour, whom he knew to have a Quantity of these Goods, offered him the Mayor's Rate in Brass, and carried away the Goods by Force. This was practised even by the Lord *Tyrconnel*, and several of their Grandees: But the Case was otherwise with Papists, they sold at what Rate they pleased; not minding the Proclamation.

THEY saw therefore that it was resolved to leave them nothing that was easily to be found; for Sir *Thomas Hacket* had made a Proposal to seize Feather-Beds, and other Furniture of Houses, alledging that they would be good Commodities in *France*; upon which the Protestants thought it the best way to exchange what Brass Money they had into Silver and Gold, and gave two Pound ten Shillings, three Pound, four Pound, and at last five Pound for a Guiney; but even so 'twas thought too beneficial for them, and to stop it, they procured a Proclamation, dated June 15 1690, whereby it is made Death to give above one Pound eighteen Shillings for a Guiney, or for a *Louis d'Or* above one Pound ten Shillings, &c. The Papists need not fear a Proclamation, or the Penalty of it; they had Interest enough to avoid it, and therefore still bought up Gold at what Rate they pleased; but if any Protestant had been found

found transgressing, he must have expected the utmost Severity.

AND thus the Case stood when King William's Victory at the Boyne delivered us.

THESE remains yet to be spoken of a third Part of the Property belonging to Protestants, I mean their real Estates ; and Care was effectually taken to divest them of these, as well as of their personal Fortunes. Their Estates of Inheritance were either acquired before the Year 1641, and were called *Old Interest*, or else since that Time, and passed by the Name of *New Interest*. The greater Part of Estates belonging to Protestants were of this last sort, and they stood on this Ground : The Papists of *Ireland* had raised a most horrid Rebellion against the King, and barbarously murdered some hundred thousand of Protestants in cold Blood in 1641 ; for which most of their Gentry were indicted and outlawed by due Course of Law, and consequently their Estates forfeited. The *English*, after a War of twelve Years, reduced them with vast Expence of Blood and Treasure ; and according to an Act of Parliament past 17 Car. I. at *Westminster*, the forfeited Estates were to be disposed of. When King *Charles II.* was restored, he restored many of the Papists ; and after two Years Deliberation, and the full hearing of all Parties before himself and Council in *England*, he pass'd an Act in a Parliament held at *Dublin*, commonly call'd *The Act of Settlement*, whereby a general Settlement was made of the Kingdom, and Commissioners appointed to hear and determine every Man's Claim. After this, upon some Doubts that arose, another Act pass'd, 17 Car. II. commonly call'd *The Act of Explanation*, which made a further and final Settlement : Every Protestant made his Claim before the Commissioners of Claims, and was forced to prosecute it at vast Expences : After this he got a Certificate from those Commissioners of what appeared to belong to him for Arrears or Debentures ; and having retrenched a Third of what was actually set out to him, and in his Possession, and paid one Years full improv'd Value of what remain'd, every

ry Man pass'd a Patent for it, a certain considerable yearly Rent, called *Quit-rent*, being reserved to the King out of every Acre. These two Acts of Parliament at *Dublin*, with that and other Acts at *Westminster*, together with a Certificate from the Court of Claims, and Letters Patents from the King pursuant to the Certificate from the Commissioners, made up the Title which two Thirds of the Protestants in *Ireland* had to their Estates. Those Papists that had forfeited in 1641, were commonly known by the Name of Old Proprietors, who notwithstanding their Outlawries and Forfeitures, and the Acts of Parliament that were against them, still kept up a kind of Claim to their forfeited Estates; they were still suggesting new Scruples and Doubts, and either disturbing the Protestant Possessors with Suits, in which by Letters from Court they obtained Favour from some of the Judges, or else threatening them with an After-reckoning. The Protestants earnestly desired a new Parliament, which might settle things beyond any Doubt, and cut the Papists off from their Hopes and Expectations; but King *James*, when Duke of *York*, had so great Interest with his Brother King *Charles II.* that he kept off a Parliament against all the Sollicitations that could be made for it for twenty four Years, to the no small Damage of the Kingdom on other Accounts as well as this; and he so encouraged those forfeiting Proprietors, and so kept them in Heart by countenancing them, that they did not doubt some Time or other to recover their Estates; and they often told the *English*, when heated by Drink or Passion, that the Time was drawing near when they would out them of their Estates and Improvements, and send them to dig or beg. This Hope kept the *Irish* idle, and hindred them from applying themselves to any thing else; and they were so sure of regaining their forfeited Estates, that they disposed of them by Wills and Settlements, as if in Possession; which Wills and Settlements made by them whilst out of Possession, are confirmed by a particular Act made in their pretended Parliament.

WHEN King *James* came to the Crown, they reckoned they had gained their Point, and did not fail

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to labour it with all possible Industry ; and no doubt but his Majesty designed to gratifie them in it, but he did not think fit to let the Protestants know his Intentions ; on the contrary, he industriously concealed them. He sent over the Lord *Clarendon*, Lord Lieutenant, in the Year 1685, who arrived here *January 10* : He gave him in Charge to declare, That he would preserve the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation inviolable* ; and accordingly the Lord *Clarendon* made this Declaration in Council, and further gave it in Charge to all the Judges, who solemnly declared on the Bench, in their respective Circuits, the King's firm Intentions to preserve those *Acts*, and in them the Protestant *English Interest of Ireland*. At the same Time Sir *Charles Porter* was sent over Chancellor of *Ireland* ; and he likewise had a Command from the King to assure all his Subjects, that he would preserve these *Acts* as the *Magna Charta of Ireland* ; and Sir *Charles*, at his Entrance on his Office, declared this solemnly on the Bench, (as Chancellor *Fitton* also after did, and used withal to term it *the Darling of the Nation*) and that it was the King's Pleasure to give his Subjects this Assurance. These kind of Declarations were often repeated, and gained Belief from the credulous Protestants ; especially that made by Sir *Charles*, who behaving himself with Courage and Integrity in his Office, went a great way to perswade them. But the Papists were nothing daunted at it ; they knew that this was only a Piece of Policy to lull us asleep, till the Army was modelled, and things fitted for repealing these *Acts*, and then all the Protestations to the contrary would signify nothing. When the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, things were riper, and so King *James* ventured to discover his Intentions a little further ; and therefore in the first Proclamation issued out by the Lord Deputy *Tyrconnel*, and dated *Feb. 21, 1686*, he promised to defend the Laws, Liberties, and established Religion ; but upon Debate at the Council-Board, leaves out the Preservation of the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*. In Spring, 1688, he sends over to *England* Chief Justice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* to concert the Methods of repealing it. They knew it

was

Was generally discoursed that they went on this Errand, and it would have alarmed the whole Kingdom if they had owned their Success; they therefore dissembled it, and contrived to have it given out, that the King had rejected their Proposals, but granted others that were very beneficial to the Kingdom, the Heads of which they took care to have published. In the mean while they fell on prosecuting their Design according to the secret Resolutions agreed on, and began immediately to put things in order to have a Parliament that would be sure to answer their Intentions: They proceed to finish the Regulations of Corporations, against which *Quo Warranto's* had before been issued, as we have already shewed; and that things might not flick in the House of Lords, by Reason of the Numerousness of the Protestant Peers and Bishops, a List was drawn up of such Papists as the King might by Writ call into the House to out-vote them. The Sons of such Lords as had been indicted and outlawed for the Rebellion in 1641, had brought Writs of Error to reverse their Father's Outlawries, which made them uncapable of sitting; which was in Effect to destroy the Act of Settlement that was founded on those Outlawries. The Protestants saw the Consequence of the reversing them, and therefore earnestly opposed it; but Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, and his Fellow-Judges, over-ruled all Oppositions that could be made, and reversed as many as desired it: Some of them, when they had reversed the Outlawries, ask'd the Attorney General whether they might not sue for their Estates: He answered, that they should have a *little Patience, perhaps they would come more easily*; meaning, that when a Parliament sat, it would (by repealing the Act of Settlement) give them their Estates without a Suit.

BUT many had not Patience to wait the general Restitution, and therefore as soon as they had Judges and Sheriffs to their Mind, they set up counterfeit Deeds, and easily obtained Verdicts: If the Protestants brought a Writ of Error, yet that did not benefit them, nor stop their being out of Possession; for the Sheriffs, on their own Heads, gave the old Proprietors Possession,

Possession, and left the Protestants to recover it by Interjunction out of Chancery or by Common-Law. At this Rate many Protestants were outed of their Estates, and the old Proprietors having gotten Possession, put the Suit and Proof on Protestants to recover them. Near a hundred English Gentlemen lost considerable Estates in less than a Year ; and the Papists were in Hopes to do their Work by their false Oaths, forged Deeds, corrupt Judges, and partial Juries, no one Suit that I could learn having been determined against them in either the King's-Bench or Exchequer.

BUT this was not the Way designed by the Grandees ; they saw it was like to be tedious, expensive, and must have been in many Cases unsuccessful ; and therefore they were intent on a Parliament ; and they had in less than nine Months fitted all Things for it : So that we should infallibly have had one next Winter, if the closeted Parliament, designed to sit at *Westminster* in November 1688, had succeeded, and the News of the Prince of Orange's intended Descent into *England* had not diverted them ; but it was not judged convenient to proceed farther in *Ireland* till the Penal Laws and Test were removed in *England*.

AFTER King James's deserting *England*, and getting into *France*, which mightily rejoiced them, their great Care was to get him into their own Hands ; and they easily prevailed on him to come into *Ireland*, where he landed at *Kinsale*, March 12, 1688, and made his Entry into *Dublin* on *Palm-Sunday*, March 24. Upon his coming into *Dublin* every Body was intent to see what he would do in relation to the Affairs of *Ireland* ; it was manifestly against his Interest to call a Parliament, and much more unreasonable to pass such Acts in it as he knew the Papists expected.

F.O.R., First, The Kingdom was not intirely in Obedience to him, *London-derry*, *Enniskillen*, and a great Part of the North, being then unreduced ; which gave Occasion to many, even of his own Party, to ridicule him and his Councils, who, so contrary to his Interest, had called a Parliament to spend their Time in wrangling about settling the Kingdom and disposing Estates, before

before they had reduced it. But had they, instead of passing such Acts as made them odious to all good Men, applied themselves to the Siege of Derry, it is like it had been reduced before the Succours came, and then all *Ireland* had been their own, and no body can tell what might have been the Consequence of it.

SECONDLY, It a little reflected on King James's Sincerity, who in his Answer to the Petition of the Lords for a Parliament in *England*, presented November 17, 1688, gave it as one Reason why he could not comply, because it was impossible, whilst Part of the Kingdom was in the Enemies Hands, to have a Free Parliament. The same Impossibility lay on him against holding a Parliament in *Ireland* at his coming to *Dublin*, if that had been the true Reason; and his not acting uniformly to it plainly discovered, that the true Reason why he would not hold a Parliament in *England*, and yet held one in *Ireland* under the same Circumstances, was not the pretended Impossibility, but because the *English* Parliament would have secured the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom, whereas he was sure the *Irish* Parliament would subvert them.

THIRDLY, His Compliance with all the most extravagant Proposals of the Papists in *Ireland* was unavoidable if he called a Parliament; and to comply with them was to do so palpable and inexcusable Injustice to the Protestants and *English* Interest of *Ireland*, that he could not expect but that he should lose the Hearts of those Protestants in *England* and *Scotland* who were indifferent or well-affected to him before, as soon as they were fully informed of what he had done in *Ireland*; and to lose their Assistance was to lose the fairest Hopes he could have of recovering his Crown.

FOURTHLY, He strengthened and united his Enemies, by rendering all the Protestants that were not under his Power desperate; and by convincing the rest of the Necessity of joining with them as fast as they could, since no other Choice was left them, but either to do this or to be ruined.

ALL these Reasons lay before the King against calling a Parliament, and made it manifestly unseasonable
to

to do it now: But, contrary to all the Rules of Interest and true Policy, he was resolved to gratify them; for which we were able to give no other Reason but the Resolution ascribed to him in the *Liege Letter*, *Either to die a Martyr, or to establish Popery*; and therefore he issued out a Proclamation for a Parliament to sit May 7, 1688, at Dublin.

EVERY Body foresaw what a Kind of Parliament this would be, and what was like to be done in it. Our Constitution lodges the Legislative Power in the King, Lords, and Commons; and each of these is a Check on the other, that if any one of them attempt a Thing prejudicial to the Kingdom, the other may oppose and stop it: But our Enemies had made all these for their Purpose, and therefore no Law could signify any thing to oppose them, it being in their Power to remove any Law when they pleased by repealing it. The King was their own, both inclined of himself, and easy to be prevailed on by them to do what they would have him; so that we could promise our selves no Help from his Negative Vote.

THE House of Lords, if regularly assembled, had consisted for the most part of Protestants, and might have been a Check to the King's Intentions of taking away our Laws in a legal Method, there being, if we reckon the Bishops, about ninety Protestant Lords to forty five Papists, taking in the new Creations and attainted Lords. But first, to remove this Obstacle, Care had been taken to reverse the Outlawries of the Popish Lords, in order to capacitate them to sit in the House. 2. New Creations were made, Sir *Alexander Fitton*, the Chancellor, was made Baron of *Gosworth*; *Thomas Nugent*, the Chief-Justice, Baron of *Riverston*; *Justin McCarty Viscount Mountcashell*; Sir *Valentine Brown Viscount Kenmare*: A List was made of more to be called into the House, if there were Occasion. 3. They had several Popish titular Bishops in the Kingdom, and it was not doubted but, if Necessity required, those would be called by Writs into the House. 4. It was easy to call the eldest Sons of Noblemen into the Parliament by Writ, which would not augment the Nobility, and yet fill

fill the House. But there were already sufficient to over-vote the Protestants, for there remained of about sixty nine Protestant Temporal Lords, only four or five in *Ireland* to sit in the House; and of twenty two Spiritual Lords, only seven left in the Kingdom. These were oblig'd to appear upon their Writs directed to them; and King *James* was forced sometimes to make use of them, to moderate, by way of Counterpoise, the Madness of his own Party when their Votes displeased him: But in the general, they protested against most of the Acts, and entred their Dissent. It is observable, that all these Acts of this pretended Parliament are said to be by the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whereas not one Spiritual Lord consented to many of them, but, on the contrary, unanimously protested against them; and at passing the Act of Attainder, of which more hereafter, they were not so much as present. They complained of this, but were refused Redress, and the express Mention of their Consent continued. Of thirty seven Papist Lords, there appeared, besides the new created Lords, twenty four at times; of which fifteen were under Attainders by Indictments and Outlawries, two or three were under Age, and there remain'd only six or seven capable of sitting or acting. Chancellor *Fitton*, now Baron of *Gosworth*, was Speaker of the House of Lords. King *James* was present constantly in the House, and directed them not only in their Debates, but likewise in their Forms and Ceremonies, hardly one in either House having ever sat in a Parliament before.

THE House of Commons makes the third Estate in Parliament; and 'tis by them that the People have a more immediate Interest in the Legislative Power, the Members of this House being such as are returned by the People's free Election, which is look'd on as the fundamental Security of the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject. These Members of the House of Commons are elected either by the Freeholders of Counties, or the Freemen of Corporations; and I have already shew'd how King *James* wrested these out of the Hands of Protestants, and put them into Popish Hands, in the new Constitution of Corporations; by which

the Freemen and Freeholders of Cities or Boroughs, to whom the Election of Burgeses originally belongs, are excluded, and the Election put into the Hands of a small Number of Men named by the King, and removable at his Pleasure. The common way of Election was thus: The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, together with the Writ for Election, commonly sent a Letter, recommending the Persons he designed should be chosen. The Sheriff or Mayor being his Creature, on Receipt of this, call'd so many of the Freeholders of a County, or Burgeses of a Corporation together as he thought fit, and, without any Noise, made the Return. It was easy to do this in Boroughs, because, by their new Charters, the Electors were not above twelve or thirteen, and in the greatest Cities but twenty four, and commonly not half of these on the Place. The Method of the Sheriff's Proceeding was the same; the Number of Popish Freeholders being very small, sometimes not a Dozen in a County, it was easy to give Notice to them to appear; so that the Protestants either did not know of the Election, or durst not appear at it. By these Means the pretended Parliament consisted of the most bigotted Papists, and of such as were most deeply interested to destroy the Protestant Religion and Protestants of *Ireland*. Few Protestants could be prevail'd with to stand, tho' they might have been chosen, because they foresaw no Possibility of doing good, and thought it unsafe to sit in a Parliament which they judged in their Conscience illegal, and purposely designed for Mischief to them and their Religion. However it was thought convenient that some should be in it to observe how things went; and with much Perswasion and Intreaty, Sir *John Mead* and Mr. *Joseph Coghlan* Counsellors at Law, were prevail'd on to stand for the University of *Dublin*: The University must chuse, and it could not stand with their Honour to chuse Papists; and therefore they pitch'd on these two Gentlemen who were hardly brought to accept of it, as think'd scandalous to be in so ill Company; and they could not prevail with themselves to sit out the whole Session, but withdrew before the Act of Attainder came to be concluded, not enduring to be present at the passing of the

that and some other barbarous Acts, against which they found their Votes signified nothing while they staid. There were four more Protestants return'd, of whose Behaviour I can give no Account, or how they caine to be return'd: The Generality of the Houses consisted of the Sons and Descendants of the forfeiting Persons in 1641; Men that had no Freeholds or Estates in the Kingdom, but were purposely elected to make themselves Estates by taking them away from Protestants.

NOW whilst the Power of making and repealing Laws was in such Hands, what Security could Protestants promise themselves from any Laws, or what Probability was there that any Laws already made in their Favour would be continued?

ESPECIALLY if we consider further, that this Parliament openly profess'd it self a Slave to the King's Will, and he was look'd on as factiously and rebelliously inclin'd, that would dare to move any thing after any Favourite in the House had affirm'd that it was contrary to the King's Pleasure. Several Bills were begun in the House of Commons; but King *James* signified his Dissatisfaction to these Bills, and for that Reason they were let fall. There was a Doubt made in the House about the Earl of *Stratford*, whether he should be attainted for Estate and Lite. Several moved in his Behalf, but it was carried against him upon this Evidence; Colonel *Simon Luttrell* affirmed in the House, *That he had heard the King say some hard things of him*. The King's Pleasure therefore was the Law, to which we were to trust for our Lives and Fortunes, our Enemies having entirely ingross'd the Power of making and repealing Laws, and devolved it on the King's Pleasure; the very Protestant Lords and Bishops being deny'd their Privilege of entring their Protestations against such Votes as they conceiv'd destructive to the Kingdom. The King told them, That Protestations against Votes were onely used in rebellious Times; and with much ado they were allowed to enter their Dissent.

THEY sat from the seventh of *May* till the twentieth of *July* following; and in that short Time entire-
ly destroy'd the Settlement of *Ireland*, and oued both
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the Protestant Clergy and Laity of their Freeholds and Inheritances.

FIRST, By an Act of Repeal, whereby they took away the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; by Virtue of which (as I have already shew'd) two Thirds of the Protestants of the Kingdom held their Estates, that is, all that which is call'd New Interest was lost by this Repeal. There is no Consideration had in it how any Man came to his Estate; but tho' he purchased it at ever so dear a Rate he must lose it, and it is to be restor'd (without Exception) to the Proprietor or his Descendant that had it before October 22, 1641, upon what Account soever he lost it; tho' they themselves did not deny but many deserv'd to lose their Estates; even Sir Phelim O'Neal's Son, the great Murtherer and Rebel, was restor'd.

SECONDLY, In order to make a final Extirpation of Protestants, they contrive and pass an Act of Attainder, by which all Protestants, whose Names they could find, of all Ages, Sexes, and Degrees, are attainted of High Treason, and their Estates vested in the King. The Pretence of this Attainder was their being out of the Kingdom at the Time of passing the Act.

THIRDLY, Lest some should be forgotten of those that were absent, and not put into the Bill of Attainder, they contrived a general Clause in the Act of Repeal, whereby the real Estates of all who dwelt or staid in any Place of the three Kingdoms, which did not own King James's Power, or correspond with any such as they term Rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting them from the first Day of August, 1688, are declared to be forfeited and vested in his Majesty, and that without any Office or Inquisition found thereof. By which Clause almost every Protestant that could write in the Kingdom had forfeited his Estate; for the Packets went from London to Lublin, and back again, constantly from August to March, 1688; and few had Friends in England or in the North, but corresponded with them by Letters, and every such Letter is made by this Clause a Forfeiture of Estate. They had intercepted and searched every Packet that went or came the latter Part of the Time, and kept vast Heaps of Letters, which were

no Consequence at all to the Government. We wonder'd what the Meaning of their so doing should be ; but by this Parliament we came to understand it, for now these Letters were produced as Evidences in the House of Commons, against those that appear'd in Behalf of their absent Friends, or oppos'd the attainting of such Protestants as they had some Kindness for ; and they were further reserv'd to prove a Correspondence against the few estates Men that were in the Kingdom.

FOURTHLY, Lest the Children and Descendants of the Protestants thus attainted, who had Estates before 1641, should come in and claim them after the Death of the attainted Persons, by Virtue of Settlements made on valuable Considerations, and upon Marriages, all such Remainders and Reversions are cut off ; for there is an express Exception to all Remainders of such as are commonly call'd *Plantation Lands*, and likewise to such Lands, &c. as are held by *Grants from the Crown*, or upon *Grants by Commissioners upon defective Titles*. It were too tedious to explain these several kinds of Tenures ; it is sufficient to let the Reader know, that they comprehended all those Estates which were acquir'd by Protestants before the Year 1641. Thus then the Case stood with the Protestants ; if they purchased or acquired their Estates since the Year 1641, out of any the Lands then forfeited, they were to lose them, whether guilty or innocent, by the Act of Repeal ; if their Estates were such as belong'd to Protestants before 1641, and consequently were what we call *Old Interest*, then to have been in *England* or *Scotland*, or to have corresponded with any of their Friends there, or in the North, since *August 1, 1688*, was a Forfeiture of Estate, and a Bar of their Remainders for ever, tho' the Heirs had done nothing to divest themselves of the Estates derived to them by legal Settlements on valuable Considerations.

THERE is indeed a Promise of reprizing Purchasers in the Act of Repeal ; which was put in to qualify the manifest Injustice of it, and to satisfy the clamours of several amongst themselves, who were to lose their Estates by it, as having purchased new interest Land. But lest any Protestant, who staid in the

Kingdom, should hope for Benefit by this Clause, or be reprimed for the Lands he had purchased, perhaps from a Papist, they contrive a Clause in the latter End of the Act---- whereby the King is enabled to gratify *meriting Persons, and to order Commissioners to set forth Reprizals, and likewise to appoint and ascertain where and what Lands should be set out to them.* By which the Protestants were excluded from all Hopes of Reprizals; for to be sure where any of them put in for a Piece of Land, there would never want a meriting Papist to put in for the same; and when it was left intirely to King *James* which he would prefer of those two, let the World judge what Hope any Protestant could have of a Reprizal.

LASTLY, Some might think, that tho' near three thousand Protestants were attainted, and the Estates of all the rest in a Manner vested in the King, yet this was only done *in terrorem*, and that King *James* never meant to take the Forfeiture. To this I answer, That it was not left in his Power to pardon any that was attainted, or whose Estate was vested in him by this Act. This was (if we believe his Majesty) more than he knew when he pass'd it, and was one Reason why the Act of Attainder was made so great a Secret, that no Copy could be gotten of it by any Protestant till the *Easter* after it was pass'd, and then it was gotten by a meer Accident. We had from the Beginning laboured to get it, and offered largely for a Copy, but could not by any Means prevail; Chancellor *Fitton* keeping the Rolls, locked it up in his Closet: Till at last a Gentleman procured it by a Stratagem, which was thus; Sir *Thomas Southwell* had been condemned for High Treason against King *James*, amongst other Gentlemen, at *Gallway*, in *March 1688*, and attainted in the Act of Attainder also. He continued a Prisoner till my Lord *Seaforth* became acquainted with him. My Lord undertook to reconcile him to the King, and get his Pardon: King *James* promised it on the Earl's Application; and Order was given to draw up a Warrant for it. The Gentleman I mentioned being a Lawyer, and an Acquaintance of Sir *Thomas*'s, was employed to draw it up. He immediately apprehended this to be a good Opportunity

portunity to get a Copy of the Act of Attainder, which he had labour'd for in vain before, and which was kept from us by so much Injustice. He told the Earl therefore, and Sir *Thomas*, (what was the real Truth) that he could not draw up an effectual Pardon, except he saw the Act that attainted him. Hereupon the Earl obtained an express Order from the King to have a Copy delivered to him. This I believe was the only Copy taken of it after it was inrolled; it was taken for the use of a Papist, and was lent to the Earl, who was permitted to shew it to his Lawyer, and accordingly left it with him only for one Day; who immediately employed several Persons to copy it, and the Copy was sent by the first Opportunity into *England*. When the Lawyer had drawn up the Warrant for Sir *Thomas*'s Pardon, with a full *Non obstante* to the Act of Attainder, the Earl brought it to the Attorney General, Sir *Richard Nagle*, to have a *Fiant* drawn. The Attorney read it, and with Indignation threw it aside. The Earl began to expostulate with him for using the King's Warrant at that Rate. The Attorney told him, That the King did not know what he had done; that he had attempted to do a thing that was not in his Power to do; that if the Earl understood our Laws, or had seen the Act of Attainder, he would be satisfied that the King could not dispense with it. My Lord answered, That he understood Sense and Reason, and that he was not a Stranger to the Act of Attainder. Sir *Richard* would not believe him till he shewed the Copy; which much surpriz'd Sir *Richard*: He began to enquire how his Lordship came by it, and intimated that the Keepers of the Rolls were treacherous in letting any one see it, much more in letting a Copy of it go abroad. His Lordship, with good Reason, express'd his Admiration, that an Act of Parliament should be made a Secret; and the Laws, upon the Observation of which the Lives and Fortunes of so many Men depended, should be concealed with so much Care from them. At last the Attorney told him, That he himself would draw up a Warrant for Sir *Thomas Southwell*'s Pardon that should do his Business, and get the King to sign it: But the Earl refused to accept his Offer, unless his Lawyer might

first peruse it ; which being granted, the Lawyer, upon Perusal, found it to be such as would not hold in Law, and intended only to detude him. The Earl made new Application to King *James* ; and Sir *Richard* being sent for, the King asked him why he did not prepare a *Fian* for Sir *Thomas Southwell*'s Pardon, according to the Warrant sent to him ? He answered, That his Majesty could not grant such a Pardon : That his Majesty was only a Trustee for forfeited Estates, and could not dispense with the *Act* : That by an express Clause in it, all Pardons that should be granted were declared void. The King in some Passion told him, That he hoped they did not intend to retrench his Prerogative. Sir *Richard* replied, That his Majesty had read the *Act* before he pass'd it. The King answered, He had betrayed him ; that he depended on him for drawing the *Act*, and if he had drawn it so that there was no Room for dispensing and pardoning, he had been false to him, or Words to that Effect. Thus the Matter ended, and Sir *Thomas* went into *Scotland* with my Lord *Seaforth*, without being able to obtain his Pardon for his Estate or Life, the *Act* voiding any Pardon granted to any attainted by it after November 1, 1689, or not enrolled before the last Day of that Month.

AND now I doubt not but the Reader, from this Story which is literally true, will observe first the Juggling of the Popish Lawyers with King *James*, and will pity a Prince who gave himself up to such false and double-dealing Counsellors. When an *Act* of Parliament is made against a Papist, then it is no less than Treason to question the King's pardoning and dispensing Power ; but when an *Act* bears hard on a Protestant, and the King has a Mind to ease him, then the King has no Power to dispense, he cannot grant a Pardon tho' he earnestly desire it. From whence we may see, that the dispensing Power was only set up to shelter Papists from the Law, and ruin Protestants ; and that Papists, in their Hearts, are as much against it as Protestants.

WE may observe what fair Justice was designed for Protestants : A Law was made to turn near three thousand out of their Estates, and to take away their Lives

if they did not come in against a certain Day ; and yet the Law that subjected them to this Penalty was made a Secret, and they not suffered to know one Word of it, till the Time allowed them to come in was past at least three Months. But there was an Intrigue in this ; they knew they had a Party in *England*, who were to face down the World that there were no such Acts made ; a Party that were to represent it as a Sham and Contrivance of King *James's* Enemies to make him odious. And the great Argument they were to urge to prove it must be to alledge, Where is the Act ? Why doth it not appear ? If there were any such Act, would not the People that came so often from *Ireland*, and tell such frightful Stories, have brought it with them ? This is the Part the Favourers of King *James* were to act in *England* and *Scotland*, and this is the Reason that the Act was so long kept secret.

IT may be imagined by some, that King *James* did not know that the repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation was of such mischievous Consequence to Protestants ; and that the Protestants were wanting to themselves and him, in not giving him due Information. But these Persons will find themselves mistaken in their Surmises, if they consider,

1. THAT King *James*, when Duke of *York*, was present at all the Debates concerning the Settlement of *Ireland* at the Council-Board in *England*, and was one of the Council when those Acts of Settlement and Explanation past it : He had heard every Clause in them debated for near two Years, and from Time to Time he had perfect Information, and was continually sollicited about them, having a fair Estate in *Ireland* settled on him by them, containing by Estimation 103000 Acres, to the Value of ten thousand Pounds per Annum ; and perhaps there was not any thing to be understood better relating to the Affairs of this Kingdom than the Consequence of these Acts. We have seen before how many Promises and Assurances King *James* had given for maintaining them, as well knowing the Importance of them to this Kingdom ; but notwithstanding this, he of his own Accord was the first that motion'd the re-

pealing of them, in his Speech at the opening of the Parliament in *Dublin*.

2. The Protestants prest, and earnestly sollicited to be heard at the Bar of the Lords House upon the Subject of those Acts, that they might shew the Reasonableness of them, and demonstrate the Injustice and Mischief of repealing them; but were denied to be heard, and an Order made that nothing should be offered in their Favour. If therefore King *James* wanted Information, it was because he would not receive it.

I Suppose it is now sufficiently apparent to the Reader what Invasions King *James* made on the Liberties and Fortunes of his Protestant Subjects; there remained to them only their Lives, and these were put in imminent Danger by him; many were lost, and the rest escaped with the greatest Hazard. When King *James* came into *Ireland*, it was certainly his Interest to exercise his Clemency towards his Protestant Subjects; and he knew it to be so, and therefore in his Declaration which he sent privately into *England*, he made large Professions of his Tenderness towards them, and boasted how much *their Safety had been his Care*. Every Body expected a Proclamation for a general Pardon and Indemnity should have been sent before him; and that he would have put an effectual Stop to the illegal Prosecutions against their Lives, and to the Robberies of their Fortunes, that every where were going on at his coming: But, on the contrary, he rather pusht on both; and not content with the Laws that already were in Force, which partial Judges and Juries wrested to destroy them, he made new Snares for them by Acts of his pretended Parliament, and by several private Declarations; whereby not only he, but his inferior Officers, took on them to dispose of the Lives of Protestants.

NO Protestant was secure of his Life, because the Courts wrested such Facts to Treason as were not declared so by any Law. Thus Chief Justice *Nugent* declared it was Treason for any Protestant to keep Arms, or wear a Sword, after the King had forbidden it by his Proclamation, and declared them Rebels that did

so. Several Gentlemen in the Country had kept their Horses and arm'd their Servants, to watch them against the Robbers, commonly called Rapparies, that plundered them: This was construed a levying War against the King; and the pretended Parliament attainted them of High Treason. In the County of Cork, one Mr. *Brown* had appeared in a Company of Men, who endeavoured to make their Escape from those that came to plunder them of their Arms and Horses; but misliking the Design, went home to his own House. He was brought before Judge *Dally* for this at *Limerick*, who upon Examination of the Matter dismiss'd him, judging him innocent of any Crime that would bear an Indictment: But he was taken up again for the same Fact at *Cork*, and brought before Judge *Nugent*, at the same Time when King *James* came first thither. Judge *Nugent* seemed at first to be of the same Opinion with Judge *Dally*; but after he had discoursed his Majesty, he proceeded vigorously against the Gentleman, and procured him to be found guilty by a partial Jury. Every Body looked on this only as an Occasion sought for the King to shew his Clemency. Mrs. *Brown*, the convicted Gentleman's Wife, with five or six Children, presented him a Petition, begging her Husband's Life at his Feet, as the first Act of Grace on his coming into the Kingdom; but he rejected her Petition, and notwithstanding she could make, the Gentleman was hanged, drawn, and quartered. This awakned all the Protestants in *Ireland*; it made them remember the bloody Executions in the West of *England* on the Account of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, and how small a Matter served to take away Mens Lives there. They suspected that Judge *Nugent* would act the same Part in *Ireland*, that Chief Justice *Jeffries* had done in *England*; and they knew that if the King did not interpose, neither Juries nor Witnesses would be wanting to destroy them. In short, they became sensible that their Lives were in imminent Danger, when they saw a Gentleman of some Estate and Credit in his Country, hanged for being but in the Company for a little Time (without acting any thing) of some others who endeavoured to make their Escape from a Crew.

Crew of Robbers, that without Order or Commission came to plunder them of their Horses and Arms. They had the more Reason to be apprehensive of their Lives, when they found that no Advantage was let slip against them, nor any Articles or Promises, however solemnly made to them for their Safety and Indemnity, were regarded ; of which there were many Examples. In short, it was observed, that amongst all the Articles into which King *James* or his Officers entered, they never kept any to Protestants.

ANOTHER Invasion on our Lives was, that both King *James* and his inferior Officers took on them to dispose of them by private Orders and Proclamations, the Penalty of violating which was often present Death : Thus the Proclamation that required us to bring in our Arms was on the Penalty of being left to the Discretion of the Soldiers ; which was to expose our Lives and Fortunes to the Mercy of our greatest Enemies. By a Proclamation, dated *July 20, 1689*, all Protestants are required to bring in their Swords and other Arms, on Penalty of being dealt with as Rebels and Traitors. The Proclamation, dated *June 15, 1690*, forbade any to change a Guinea, &c. for more than thirty six Shillings in Brass under Pain of Death. Colonel *Lutterel* published a Declaration, forbidding more than five Protestants to assemble together, or to be out of their Lodgings after Ten of the Clock at Night on the same Penalty : And by an Order to the Ministers to number the Protestants he declared, That every one who did not enter in their Names by a certain Day should be treated as a Spy or Enemy ; nay, sometimes he took on him to make Death the Penalty of his verbal Orders without a Declaration published : Thus he commanded the Fellows and Scholars of the College of *Dublin*, upon Pain of Death, not to meet together, or converse above two or three at a Time ; and he would needs hang Mr. *Piercy* the Merchant, as I shewed before, without any Notice given, for saying that he was unwilling to part with his Goods.

THESE were the Laws King *James*'s Council and Ministers prescribed us by their Proclamations and Orders ; and these were the Acts of his Generals and Governors

vernours, whom he made Guardians of the Lives and Fortunes of Protestants, and yet they all came short of the Inhumanity of his Parliament.

IT has been usual in Parliaments to attaint notorious Rebels and Traitors, who were too strong for the Law, or who being killed in their Rebellion, could not be try'd or condemned by the ordinary Course of it ; and when one or two in a King's Reign were thus attainted upon the most evident Proof and Notoriety of the Fact, it was counted a great Matter ; even in the late *Irish* Rebellion none were attainted but by the legal Course of Juries. But King *James* and his Parliament intended to do the Work of Protestants speedily and effectually, and not to wait the slow Methods of proceeding at the Common-Law : They resolved therefore on a Bill of Attainder, and in order to do it every Member of the House of Commons returned the Names of such Protestant Gentlemen as lived near him, or in the County or Borough for which he served ; and if he was a Stranger to it, he sent into the County or Place for Information. When they had made a Collection of Names, they cast them into several Forms, and attainted them under several Qualifications, and accordingly allowed them Time to come in, and put themselves on Trial.

PERHAPS this Act was never equalled in any Nation since the Time of the Proscription in *Rome*, and not then neither ; for here is more than half as many condemned in the small Kingdom of *Ireland* as was at that Time proscribed in the greatest Part of the then known World ; yet that was esteemed an unparalleled Cruelty. When Sir *Richard Nagle*, Speaker of the House of Commons, presented the Bill to King *James* for his Royal Assent, he told him, that many were attainted in that Act by the House of Commons, upon such Evidence as fully satisfied the House ; the rest of them were attainted, he said, upon *Common Fame*. A Speech so very brutish, that I can hardly perswade my self that I shall gain Credit to the Relation ; but it is certainly true, the Houses of Lords and Commons of their pretended Parliament are Witnesses of it : And let the World judge what Security Protestants could have

of

of their Lives, when so considerable a Lawyer as Sir Richard Nagle declares on so solemn an Occasion, and King James with his Parliament approves, that Common Fame is a sufficient Evidence to deprive, without hearing, so many of the Gentry, Nobility, and Clergy of their Lives and Fortunes, without Possibility of Pardon; and not only cut off them, but their Children and Posterity likewise, by a particular Clause, from Advantages, of which the former Laws of the Kingdom would not have deprived them, though their Fathers had been found guilty of the worst of Treasons in particular Trials.

IT must further be observed, 1. That this Act leaves no Room for the King to pardon after the last Day of November 1689; if the Pardon be not enrolled before that Time, the Act declares it absolutely void and null.

2. THE Act was concealed, and no Protestant for any Money permitted to see it, much less to take a Copy of it, till the Time limitted for Pardons was past at least four Months: So that the State of the Persons here attainted is desperate and irrecoverable, except an Irish Popish Parliament will relieve them; for King James took Care to put it out of the Power of an English Parliament (as well as out of his own Power) to help them, by consenting to another Act of this pretended Parliament, intituled, *An Act declaring that the Parliaments of England cannot bind Ireland, and against Writs of Errors and Repeals out of Ireland into England.*

I know it will be objected, that very few Protestants lost their Lives in Ireland under King James, notwithstanding all the severe Proclamations and Laws, and the Apprehensions under which they lay of Danger. But to this I answer; 1. That when a full Enquiry comes to be made concerning those that were killed by the Soldiers, murthered in their Houses, executed by Martial Law, starved and famished in Gaols, and that perished by other Violences, the Number will not be so small as is imagined. 2. It is to be considered that the Irish Papists lay under the strictest Obligations not to begin Acts of Cruelty; for the Murthers they had committed in the last Rebellion were chiefly objected against

gainst them ; they were sensible they had gained nothing by them, and that the Cruelty exercised in them was the Thing that especially rendred them odious, and lost them their Estates ; and therefore they thought it the best Way not to be too forward in the like Practices till they were sure not to be called to an After-Reckoning. They further considered that many of their own Friends were Prisoners in the *North*, and that if they began with Examples of Cruelty on the Protestants who were in their Power, their Friends must expect the like from the Enemy in whose Hands they were. And they were made believe that not only the Prisoners would suffer, but that the Cruelties they exercised on the Protestants would be revenged on all the Roman Catholicks in *England*. 3. The Protestants were extreamly cautious not to give the least Offence ; they walked so warily and prudently, that it was hardly possible to find any Occasion against them ; and they were so true to one another, and conversed so little with any of King *James*'s Party, that it was as difficult to fix any thing on them, or to get any Information against them, though several Designs were laid against them, and several false Witnesses produced, yet their Stories still destroyed themselves by their Improbabilities, Inconsistency, and notorious Infamy of the Witnesses. 4. We had no Experiment of what would have been done with the attainted Absentees ; for none of them run the Hazard of a Tryal ; but we are sure no Good could have been done them, for they could neither have been pardoned for Estate nor Life ; and the best they could have expected was to have been sent to some other Kingdom, as Sir *Thomas Southwell* was sent to *Scotland* ; for there could have been no living for them in *Ireland*. 5. When any Protestant found himself obnoxious to the Government, or but fancy'd they had any thing to object against him, he got out of the Kingdom, or made his Escape to the *North* as well as he could, and in the mean time absconded ; many escaped Hanging by these means, which otherwise in all Probability had been executed.

LASTLY, It was so much the Interest of King *James* in his Circumstances to have been kind to the Prote-

Protestants of *Ireland*, that we might rather have expected to have been courted than ill used by him; the whole Support and Maintenance of his Army in *Ireland* depended on them; they cloathed, fed, armed and quartered them, (which they could not avoid doing with any Safety to themselves, or indeed Possibility of living) and the Officers of the Army were so sensible of this, that when it was proposed to turn all the Protestants out of the City of *Dublin*, one of them answered, that whenever they were turned out the Army must go with them; for they could not be furnished with what they wanted by others. And as it was King *James*'s Interest to use them well upon the Account of their being necessary to him in *Ireland*, so his Affairs in *England* and *Scotland* did more particularly require it; and he was forced to employ his Emissaries there to give it out that he did so. It is certain that King *James* had such Instruments in *England*, who forced down the World in Coffee-houses and publick Places, that the Protestants in *Ireland* lived easy and happy under his Government. This shews how much it was really his Interest to have given his Protestant Subjects here no just Cause of Complaint; and that it must proceed from a strange Eagerness to destroy them, that King *James* and his Party ventured in their Circumstances to go so far in it as they did: Their own imminent Danger dissuaded them from Severity, and their Interest manifestly obliged them to Mildness: And if, notwithstanding these, they condemned near three thousand of the most eminent Gentlemen, Citizens, Clergymen and Nobility of the Kingdom to Death, and Loss of Estates, we may easily guess what they would have done when their Fear and Interest were removed, and they left to the Swing of their own natural Inclinations, and the Tendency of their Principles. Whosoever considers all Circumstances will conclude, that no less was designed by them than the Execution of the third Chapter of the *Latran* Council, the utter Extirpation of the Hereticks of these Kingdoms.

THE Design against the Lives and Fortunes of the Protestants is so apparent from the Execution thereof, especially by the Acts of the pretended Parliament,

liament, that they themselves can hardly deny it ; nay, some were apt to glory in it : And to let us know that it was not a late Design, taken up since the Revolt of *England* (as they call it) from King *James*, they thought fit to settle on the Duke of *Tyrconnel* above twenty thousand Pounds *per Annum* in Value out of the Estates of some Protestant Gentlemen attainted by them, as aforesaid, in Consideration of his signal Service of twenty Years, which he spent in contriving this Work, and bringing it to pass, as one of their most eminent Members exprest it in his Specch in Parliament, and the particular Act which vests this Estate in him shews.

BUT it may be thought that King *James* was more tender in the Matter of Religion ; and that he who gloried so much in his Resolution to settle *Liberty of Conscience wherever he had Power*, as he told his pretended Parliament, and set forth almost in every Proclamation, would never have made any open Invasion on the Consciences of his Protestant Subjects. But they found by Experience that a Papist, whatever he professes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conscience : And that the same Religion that obliged the King of *Spain* to set up an Inquisition, could not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. If indeed King *James* had prevailed with *Italy* or *Spain* to have tolerated the open Exercise of the Protestant Religion, it had been, I believe, a convincing Argument to *England* to have granted Roman Catholicks Liberty in these Dominions ; but whilst the Inquisition is kept up to the Height in those Countries, and worse than an Inquisition in *France*, against the publick Edicts and Laws of the Kingdom, and against the solemn Oath and Faith of the King, it is too gross to go about to perwade us, that we might expect a free Exercise of our Religion, any other Way than the Protestants enjoy it in *France*, (that is, under the Discipline of Dragoons,) after the Papists had gotten the Arms, the Offices, the Estates, and Courts of Judicature into their Hands.

THE Protestant Religion and Clergy were established in *Ireland* by as firm Laws as the Properties of the Laity : The King by his Coronation Oath was obliged to maintain them : Their Tithes and Benefices were

their

Protestants of *Ireland*, that we might rather have expected to have been courted than ill used by him ; the whole Support and Maintenance of his Army in *Ireland* depended on them ; they cloathed, fed, armed and quartered them, (which they could not avoid doing with any Safety to themselves, or indeed Possibility of living) and the Officers of the Army were so sensible of this, that when it was proposed to turn all the Protestants out of the City of *Dublin*, one of them answered, that whenever they were turned out the Army must go with them ; for they could not be furnished with what they wanted by others. And as it was King *James*'s Interest to use them well upon the Account of their being necessary to him in *Ireland*, so his Affairs in *England* and *Scotland* did more particularly require it ; and he was forced to employ his Emissaries there to give it out that he did so. It is certain that King *James* had such Instruments in *England*, who forced down the World in Coffee-houses and publick Places, that the Protestants in *Ireland* lived easy and happy under his Government. This shews how much it was really his Interest to have given his Protestant Subjects here no just Cause of Complaint ; and that it must proceed from a strange Eagerness to destroy them, that King *James* and his Party ventured in their Circumstances to go so far in it as they did : Their own imminent Danger dissuaded them from Severity, and their Interest manifestly obliged them to Mildness : And if, notwithstanding these, they condemned near three thousand of the most eminent Gentlemen, Citizens, Clergymen and Nobility of the Kingdom to Death, and Loss of Estates, we may easily guess what they would have done when their Fear and Interest were removed, and they left to the Swing of their own natural Inclinations, and the Tendency of their Principles. Whosoever considers all Circumstances will conclude, that no less was designed by them than the Execution of the third Chapter of the *Lateran* Council, the utter Extirpation of the Hereticks of these Kingdoms.

THE Design against the Lives and Fortunes of the Protestants is so apparent from the Execution thereof, especially by the Acts of the pretended Parliament,

liament, that they themselves can hardly deny it ; nay, some were apt to glory in it : And to let us know that it was not a late Design, taken up since the Revolt of *England* (as they call it) from King *James*, they thought fit to settle on the Duke of *Tyrconnel* above twenty thousand Pounds *per Annum* in Value out of the Estates of some Protestant Gentlemen attainted by them, as aforesaid, in Consideration of his signal Service of twenty Years, which he spent in contriving this Work, and bringing it to pass, as one of their most eminent Members exprest it in his Specch in Parliament, and the particular Act which vests this Estate in him shews.

BUT it may be thought that King *James* was more tender in the Matter of Religion ; and that he who gloried so much in his Resolution to settle *Liberty of Conscience wherever he had Power*, as he told his pretended Parliament, and set forth almost in every Proclamation, would never have made any open Invasion on the Consciences of his Protestant Subjects. But they found by Experience that a Papist,whatever he professes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conscience : And that the same Religion that obliged the King of *Spain* to set up an Inquisition, could not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. If indeed King *James* had prevailed with *Italy* or *Spain* to have tolerated the open Exercise of the Protestant Religion, it had been, I believe, a convincing Argument to *England* to have granted Roman Catholicks Liberty in these Dominions ; but whilst the Inquisition is kept up to the Height in those Countries, and worse than an Inquisition in *France*, against the publick Edicts and Laws of the Kingdom, and against the Solemn Oath and Faith of the King, it is too gross to go about to perwade us, that we might expect a free Exercise of our Religion, any other Way than the Protestants enjoy it in *France*, (that is, under the Discipline of Dragoons,) after the Papists had gotten the Arms, the Offices, the Estates, and Courts of Judicature into their Hands.

THE Protestant Religion and Clergy were established in *Ireland* by as firm Laws as the Properties of the Laity : The King by his Coronation Oath was obliged to maintain them : Their Tithes and Benefices were

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their Freeholds ; and their Privileges and Jurisdiction were settled and confirmed to them by the known and current Laws of the Kingdom ; according to which the King was obliged to govern them, and whereof he was the Guardian. The Clergy had, beside all this, peculiar Obligations on him, and a Title to his Protection ; for they had espoused his Interest most cordially. Whilst Duke of York, they used their utmost Diligence to persuade the People to submit to God's Providence, and be content with his Succession to the Crown, in case his Brother died before him : And they prest that Point so far, that many of their People were dissatisfied with them, and told them often, with Heat and Concern, what Reward they must expect for their Pains if ever he came to the Throne : They saw their Danger, but could not imagine any Man would be so unpolitick and ungrateful as to destroy such as had brought him to the Throne, and could only keep him safe in it ; and therefore they ventured all to serve him ; and many of them, by their Zeal for him, lost the Affections of their People, and their Interest with them. It was chiefly due to their Diligence and Care that his Title, from the Beginning, met not the least Opposition in *Ireland*, though the Army in it were intirely Protestant. Had they and the rest of the Protestants in this Kingdom been in any measure disloyally principled in the Time of *Monmouth* and *Argile's* Rebellion, they might easily have made an Insurrection more dangerous than both those ; and the least Mutiny or Revolt amongst them could hardly have failed to have ruined King *James's* Affairs at that critical Time : But they were so far from attempting any such thing, that they were as ready and as zealous to assist him as his very Guards at *Whitehall*, which he himself could not but acknowledge : How he rewarded them I have already shewn, and how grateful he was to the Clergy that thus principled them will appear by the Sequel.

FIRST, Therefore when his Majesty came to the Crown, he declared that he would protect the Church of *England* in her Government and Privileges, under which we supposed the Church of *Ireland* to be included ; and accordingly the Clergy and People of

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this Kingdom returned his Majesty their Address of Thanks, though they very well knew that this was no more than was due to them by the Laws, and by the King's Coronation Oath in particular: But they were soon told by the Roman Catholicks, that his Majesty did not intend to include *Ireland* in that Declaration; and that it *must be a Catholick Kingdom*, as they termed it. Every discerning Protestant soon found by the Method they saw his Majesty take, that he in earnest intended to settle Popery in *England*, as well as *Ireland*; but he thought himself so sure of effecting it suddenly in *Ireland*, that his Instruments made no Scruple to declare their Intentions; nay, they were so hasty to ruin our Religion, that they did not so much as consult their own Safety; but even before it was either seasonable or safe, in the Opinion of the wiser Sort amongst themselves, they began openly to apply all their Arts and Engines to effect it.

THE Good and Support of Religion doth very much depend on the Educating and Principling Youth in Schools and Universities; and the Law had taken special Care that these should be in the Hands of *English* Men and Protestants; and the better to secure them, the Nomination of the School-masters in every Diocess, except four, is by a particular Act of Parliament lodged in the Lord-Lieutenant, or chief Governor for the Time being. The Clergy of each Diocess by the Act are obliged to maintain a School-master; and his Qualifications are described in the Act. But when the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, he took no Notice of those Laws; but when any School became void, he either left it unsupply'd, or put a Papist into it. And in the mean time great Care was taken to discourage such Protestant School-masters as remained, and to set up Popish Schools in Opposition to them. Thus they dealt with the School of *Kilkenny*, founded and endowed by the charitable Piety of the late Duke of *Ormond*; they set up a Jesuits School in the Town, and procured them a Charter for a College there; they drove away the Protestant School-master, Dr. *Hinton*, who had officiated in it with great Industry and Success,

cess, and seized on the School-house, commonly called the College, and converted it to an Hospital for their Soldiers. Thus in a few Years they would not have left one publick School in the Hands of a Protestant for the Education of their Youth.

THERE is but one University in *Ireland*, and there is a Clause in the Statutes thereof that gives the King Power to dispense with the said Statutes: It was founded by Queen *Elizabeth*, and certainly never designed by her, or her Successors, to be converted, against the fundamental Design of its Institution, into a Seminary of Popery: Yet Advantage was taken of this Clause (though we had Reason to believe it would have been done if there had been no such Clause) to put in Popish Fellows as soon as the Fellowships became vacant; one *Doyle*, a Convert, was the first who was named, a Person of so exceedingly lewd and vicious a Conversation, (as was fully proved before the Lord *Tyrconnel*) and of so little Sense or Learning, that it seemed impossible that any Government should have countenanced such a Man; yet this did not much weigh with his Excellency; and therefore the College insisted upon another Point; The Dispensation that *Doyle* had gotten, through his Ignorance, was not for his Purpose; for it required, in express Terms, that he should take the Oath of a Fellow, and that Oath includes in it the Oath of Supremacy; the Provost tender'd it to him, but he durst not take it for fear of disobliging his own Party. Upon this they refused to admit him; he insists on his Claim, and complains to the Lord Deputy. Upon a Hearing, Justice *Nugent*, Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney-General supplied the Place of Advocates for him; but the Case was so plain, that even Justice *Nugent* had not the Confidence to deny the Insufficiency of his Dispensation, and therefore they ordered him to get another. But to be even with the College for demurring on the King's Mandate, they stopt the Money due to it out of the Exchequer.

THE Foundation consists of a Provost, seven Senior and nine Junior Fellows, and seventy-two Scholars; these are partly maintained by a Pension out of the Exchequer of 388*l. per Annum*; this Pension the Earl

Earl of Tyrconnel stopt from *Easter 1688*, and could not be prevailed with by any Intercession or Intreaties to grant his Warrant after that Time for it ; by which means he in Effect dissolved the Foundation, and stopt the Fountains of Learning and of Religion. This appeared to have been his Design more plainly afterwards ; for King *James* and his Party, not content to take their Maintenance from them, proceeded and turned out the Vice-Provost, Fellows and Scholars ; seized upon the Furniture, Books and publick Library, together with the Chappel, Communion-Plate, and all things belonging to the College, or to the private Fellows or Scholars ; notwithstanding that, when they waited on him upon his first Arrival at *Dublin*, he promised, *That he would preserve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminish the Privileges and Immunities granted to them by his Predecessors.* In the House they placed a Popish Garrison, turned the Chappel into a Magazine, and many of the Chambers into Prisons for Protestants ; the Garrison destroyed the Doors, Wainscots, Closets, and Floors, and damnified it in the Building and Furniture of private Rooms, to at least the Value of two thousand Pound. One Dr. *Moore*, a Popish Priest, was nominated Provost ; one *Macarty* Library-Keeper, and the whole designed for them and others of their Fraternity.

THE Y hindred the Succession of Bishops and inferior Clergymen into the Room, of thole that died or were removed : The Support of Religion (it is well known) depends very much on the Choice and settling of able and fit Persons in Vacancies ; and so it happen'd, that, partly by the Uncertainty of Estates, partly by frequent Forfeitures to the King, partly by the Grasping of the Prerogative, and other Accidents, most of the considerable Preferments and Benefices of the Church were in the Disposal of the Crown ; there are very few Livings in *Ireland* in the Presentation of Lay-Patrons, but they either belong to the King or the Bishops. The Bishopricks are all in the King, and all the Livings in the Bishop's Patronage are, in the Vacancy of the Bishoprick, likewise the King's. This is a great Trust, and the King is bound to dispose of it for the Good of
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the Church: But King *James* plainly designed, by the Means of this Trust, to destroy the Church that had entrusted him; for, instead of giving the Preferments as they fell to good and able Men, who might preserve and maintain the Interest of their Religion, he seized them into his own Hand, had the Profits of them returned into the Exchequer, and let the Cures lie neglected. The Archbishoprick of *Cashel*, the Bishopricks of *Clogher*, of *Elphin*, and of *Clonfert*, were thus seized, with many inferior Livings, and the Money received out of them disposed to the Maintenance of Popish Bishops and Priests, directly against the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom.

THIS was an effectual, though a slow Way, of putting an End to the Ministry, at least to deprive them of all legal Title to Preferments; for the Bishops being most of them old, would soon have dropt off; and King *James* was resolved to have named no more, and so the legal Succession of Bishops must in a short time have ceased, and all the Livings depending on them must likewise have gone in Course to maintain Popish Priests; that is, all the Deanries, Dignitaries, and most others Benefices.

BUT King *James* did not only endeavour to hinder the Education and Succession of the Protestant Clergy, he likewise took away all their present Maintenance. Immediately upon his coming to the Crown, their Popish Parishioners began to deny the Payment of Book-Moneys, which is a considerable Part of the Ecclesiastical Revenue of *Ireland*. A great Part of the Tithes of *Ireland* are inappropriate; in some Places the whole Tithes, in many two Third Parts, and in most the one Half; and there is little left for the Vicar that serves the Cure, except it be the Third Part of the Tithes, or the small Fees due out of Burials, Marriages, or *Easter* Offerings: These Dues are called commonly Book-Moneys; and tho' very inconsiderable in themselves, yet make a great Part, and in some Places the Whole, of what falls to the Vicar's Portion; against these the Popish Judges declared in their Circuits; and by their Encouragement most People, and the Papists universally, deny'd to pay them.

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THE Priests began to declare that the Tithes belonged to them, and forbade their People to pay them to the Protestant Clergy. With this the People complied willingly, and for two Years before the Revolution in England hardly any Tithes were recovered by the Clergy ; or if any were recovered, it was with so much Difficulty and Cost, that they turned to very little Account.

THEY past an Act in their pretended Parliament, whereby they took away all Tithes that were payable by Papists, and gave them to their own Popish Priests, and allowed them to bring an Action for them at the Common-Law, to make the Recovery of them more easy ; and yet denied this to the Protestant Clergy, alledging they allowed them still their old Means of recovering their Tithes, and therefore did them no Injury. But this was as good as nothing ; for they had so weakened the Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction, that it was incapable of compelling the People to Obedience ; and it being necessary to sue out a *Writ de excommunicato capiendo*, in order to force such as were refractory, the Popish Chancellor either directly refused to grant the Writ, or else laid so many Impediments and Delays in the Way, that it cost double the Value of the Tithes sued for to take it out.

THO' they rendred the Protestant Clergy uncapable of enjoying the Tithes of Roman Catholicks, yet the Popish Clergy were made capable of enjjoying the Protestant Tithes. The Case then was thus ; if a Protestant had a Bishoprick, Dignity, or other Living, by the new Act, he must not demand any Tithes or Ecclesiastical Dues from any Roman Catholick ; and as soon as his Preferment became void by his Death, Cession, or Absence, a Popish Bishop, &c. was put into the Place ; and by their Act, there needed no more to oblige all Men, *To repute, take, and deem a Man to be a Roman Catholick Bishop or Dean of any Place, than the King's signifying him to be so, under his Privy Signet and Sign Manual* ; a Power that the Protestants, how much soever they magnified the King's Authority, never trusted any King with. But as soon as any one became thus entitled to a Bishoprick, &c. immediately all the Tithes, as well of Protestants as of Papists, became due to him, with

with all the Glebes and Ecclesiastical Dues ; and for the Recovery of them he had an Action at Common-Law.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Glebes and Protestants Tithes were not given to the Popish Clergy, during the Incumbency of the present Protestant Incumbents ; yet the Popish Priests by Violence entred on the Glebes, where there were any, pretending that the King had nothing to do with them, and that neither he or his Parliament could hinder the Church of her Rights : And this Pretence was so far countenanced, that no Endeavours whatsoever could get any of these Priests out when once he had gotten Possession. The Truth is, hardly one Parish in ten in the Provinces of *Leinster*, *Munster*, or *Connaught*, have any Glebe left them ; for either they were never endowed, or if they had been at any Time endowed with Glebes, the many Confusions and new Dispositions of Lands have made them to be forgotten, or swallowed up in the Hands of some powerful Parishioners. The Pretence therefore of the Parliament, that they had been kind to the Protestant Clergy, in leaving them the Glebes, was a meer Piece of Hypocrify, since they knew that generally Parishes had no Glebes, and that where they had Glebes, the Priests would make a Shift to get into Possession of them, without being given to them by the Parliament.

THE same may be said of their leaving some of the Tithes belonging to Protestants, for the present, to their own Clergy. They had so robbed and plundered the Protestants of the Country, that few lived or had any thing tithable in it, being forced for their own Safety to flee to the Towns, and leave their Farms waste ; if any had Tithes, they might pay them if they pleased, or let it alone, for they had left the Protestant Clergy, as I shewed before, no way of recovering their Dues. Many times the Priests came with a Company of the next quarter'd Dragoons, and took the Tithes away by Force ; and this pass'd for a Possession of the Livings, and the Protestant Ministers must bring their Leases of Ejectment if they would recover their Possessions, or pretend any more to the Tithes in those Livings. There is a Custom in *Ireland*, whereby some Farmers do agree with their Neighbours to plow their Lands for them,

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on Condition that they afford them a certain Quantity of Corn, suppose an Half, one Third, or one Fourth, after it is reaped. Now Protestants that had Farms in the Country, their being in no Capacity to plow them after Horses were taken away and their Houses robb'd, agreed with their Protestant Neighbours to plow their Lands for them, according to the Custom of the Country : This was enough to entitle Priests to the Tithes of Lands so plowed ; and accordingly they seiz'd upon them by Force, tho' both the Land and Corn belong'd to Protestants. By these and other such Contrivances, from the Year 1686, till King *James's* Power was put to an End by the Victory at the *Boyn*, hardly any Protestant enjoy'd any Tithes in the Country ; all which was represented to the Government, but to no Purpose.

IN Corporate Towns and Cities, there was a peculiar Provision made for Ministers by Act of Parliament, in King *Charles* the Second's Time ; by which Act the Houses in those Places were to be valued by Commissioners at a moderate Value ; and the Lord Lieutenant, or chief Governour for the Time being, did assign a certain Proportion for the Ministers Maintenance, not greater than the twentieth Part of the yearly Value, return'd by the Commissioners. That therefore the City Protestant Clergy might not be in a better Condition than those in the Country, an Act was past in their pretended Parliament to take away this altogether. The Clergy of *Dublin* desir'd to be heard concerning this Act at the Bar of the House of Lords before it past, and their Council were admitted to speak to it, who shew'd the Unreasonableness and Injustice of it so evidently, and insisted so boldly on King *James's* Promise to the Protestant Clergy, at his first Arrival in this Kingdom, when he gave them the greatest Assurances of maintaining them in their Rights and Privileges ; and further, bid them, if aggriev'd in any thing, to make their Complaints immediately to him, and engaged to see them redrest ; that he seemed to be satisfied, and the House of Lords with him ; yet the Design to ruin them was so fixt, that without offering any thing by way of Answer to the Reasons urged against it, the Act past, and thereby left the Clergy of the Cities and Corporate

Towns without any Pretence to a Maintenance, except they could get it from the voluntary Contributions of their People ; nay, so malicious were they against the Protestant Clergy, that they cut off the Arrears due to them, as well as the growing Rent ; having left no Means to recover them, as appear'd upon Trial at the Council-board afterward, when some of the Clergy petitioned for Relief therein.

UPON the Plantation of Ulster, 1625, there was a Table of Tithes agreed on by the King and Council ; and the Planters, to whom the Grants were made by the King, obliged to pay Tithes according to that Table. The pretended Parliament took away this Table also, for no other Reason that we could learn, but because most of the Inhabitants of Ulster were Protestants, and consequently the Protestant Clergy would pretend to them.

THE Livings of Ireland were valued by Commissioners in Henry the Eighth and Queen Elizabeth's Time, and paid First-Fruits and twentieth Parts, according to that Valuation ; other Livings were held in Farm from the Crown, and paid yearly a considerable reserved Rent, commonly call'd Crown-Rents ; others appertaining'd to the Lord Lieutenant, and other Officers of State, and paid a certain Rate of Corn for their use, commonly call'd Port-Corn. Now all these Payments were exacted from the Protestant Clergy, notwithstanding the greatest Part of their Tithes were taken from them : The remaining Part (where any remained) was seiz'd in many Places by the Commissioners of the Revenue, and a Custodiam granted of it for the King's use, for the Payment of the Duties which accrû'd out of the Whole, and not one Farthing allow'd for the Incumbent or the Curate : Nay, in some Places they seiz'd the Incumbent's Person, and laid him in Goal till he paid these Duties ; tho' at the same Time they had seized his Livings, and found that they were not sufficient to answer what they exacted. And because the Clerk of the First-Fruits, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Moore, being a Protestant himself, would not be severe with the Clergy, and seize their Livings and Persons, to force them to pay what he knew they were not in a Capacity

to do, they found Pretence to seize his Person, and sent him with three Files of Musqueters Prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, where he and two Gentlemen more lay in a cold nasty Garret for some Months. By these Contrivances the few Benefices yet in the Hands of the Protestants, instead of a Support, became a Burthen to them; and they were forced to cast themselves for a Maintenance on the Kindness of their People, who were themselves undone and beggar'd.

IT is impossible any Society should subsist without a Power of rewarding and punishing its Members. Now Christ left no other Power to his Church but what is purely spiritual; nor can the Governours of the Church any other way punish their refractory Subjects, but by refusing them the Benefits of their Society, the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the other spiritual Offices annexed by Christ to the ministerial Function. But Kings and States have become nursing Fathers to the Church, and lent their temporal Power to second her spiritual Censures. The Jurisdiction therefore of the Clergy, so far as it has any temporal Effect on the Bodies or Estates of Men, is intirely derived from the Favour of States and Princes, and acknowledged to be so in the Oath of Supremacy. However this is now become a Right of the Clergy, by ancient Laws, thorough all Christendom; and to take it away, after so long Continuance, must needs be a great Blow to Religion, and of worse Consequence than if the Church had never possessed it: Yet this was actually done by King *James* to the Protestant Clergy; and is a plain Sign that he intended to destroy their Religion, when he depriv'd them of their Support.

FOR, First, he past an Act of Parliament, whereby he exempted all that dissented from our Church from the Jurisdiction thereof; and a Man needed no more to free him from all Punishment for his Misdemeanors, tho' only cognizable and punishable in the Ecclesiastical Courts, than to profess himself a Dissenter, or that it was against his Conscience to submit to the Jurisdiction of our Church.

S E C O N D L Y, In most Places there was no Protestant

testant Bishop left ; and consequently the Popish Bishop was to succeed to the Jurisdiction, they being by another Act invested in Bishopricks, as soon as they could procure King James's Certificate, under his Privy Signet, that they were Archbishops or Bishops ; all Incapacities, by Reason of their Religion, by any Statute or Law whatsoever, being taken off. There were already vacant in *Ireland* one Archbishoprick and three Bishopricks ; they had attainted two of the surviving Archbishops and seven Bishops, so that they had already the Jurisdiction of three Fourths of the Kingdom by a Law of their own making, secured into the Hands of Papists ; and the rest were quickly to follow.

B U T, Thirdly, where any Shadow of Jurisdiction remained with the Protestant Clergy, they rendered it insignificant, by encouraging the most obstinate and perverse Sectaries, and by shewing them Favour according as they were most opposite and refractory to all Ecclesiastical Discipline, and paying their Dues to the Clergy. This may be supposed one Reason of their peculiar Fondness of Quakers ; and that it was upon this Account chiefly they made them Burgeses or Aldermen in their new Corporations, and reckoned them as most useful Tools to pull down the Discipline of the Church : Tho' their Tithes were not given away to the Popish Priests, yet there was no way left for the Protestant Clergy to recover them, they being exempted from their Jurisdiction ; and from the very Beginning of King James's Reign they so ordered the Matter, that Quakers were generally exempted from paying Tithes ; which at last became a more sensible Loss to the Protestant Clergy, because these were the only People that call'd themselves Protestants, who had any thing left them out of which Tithes were due.

T W A S on the same Account that lewd and debauch'd Converts were encouraged amongst them ; and a Man needed no more to escape the Censures and Punishments due to his Crimes, but to profess himself reconcil'd, upon which all Proceedings against him must immediately cease. Thus many lewd Women turn'd Converts, and continued their Wickedness without Fear of the Ecclesiastical Judge.

IF at any Time a Bishop went about to correct a scandalous Clergyman, the King's Courts immediately interpos'd, and granted Prohibitions, tho' the Matter did not bear one. They knew it must put the Bishop to much Pains and Costs to have it removed, and they were in Hopes to weary him out before he could get a Consultation : And so zealous were the Popish Lawyers to protect a scandalous Minister against his Bishop, that they would of their own Accord, *gratis*, plead his Cause ; they thought it Fee enough to weaken the Jurisdiction of a Protestant Bishop, and to do a Mischief to our Religion, by keeping in a wicked scandalous Clergyman to be a Reproach to it. If any Clergyman turn'd Papist, as we have Reason to thank God very few did, whatever his Motives of Conversion were, he was sure to keep his Livings by a Dispensation, and to be exempted from the Power of his Bishop. In short, King *James*, by Virtue of his Supremacy, claim'd a despotic Power over the Church, and pretended that he might do what he pleas'd as to Matter of Jurisdiction ; tho' his Ecclesiastical Supremacy no more entituled him to encroach on the Liberties and Privileges of the Church, than his Civil entituled him to dispose of the Civil Rights of the Subjects of his Kingdoms. He had indeed taken away the Oath of Supremacy by an Act of his pretended Parliament ; but yet he would not disown the Power vested in him by it, tho' the Papists would have had him renounce it expressly ; but he answer'd, That he did not claim any Ecclesiastical Authority over his Roman Catholick Subjects, nor pretended to be supream in their Church in his Dominions, but only over the Protestants. The Mystery of which was plainly this ; He foresaw that the Ecclesiastical Authority, which is settled by the Laws, and trusted in the Crown, as he could abuse it, might be a Means to destroy the Protestant Religion, and to hinder the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and therefore was resolved not to part with it ; not considering that such a manifest and designed Abuse of a Trust, in direct Opposition to, and Destruction of the End for which it was granted to him, was a provoking Temptation to his People, on the first Opportunity that offered, to

think of transferring it to some other Person, that would administer it with more Faithfulness, according to the Design for which it was granted.

I might add, as a fifth Means of destroying the Protestant Religion, and slackening Discipline, the universal Corruption of Manners that was encouraged at Court. I do not charge King *James* with this in his own Person, nor will I insinuate that he design'd it, tho' he took no Care to redress it ; but it look'd like a Design in some ; and whether design'd or no, it serv'd the Ends of Popery more than easily can be imagined, and opened a wide Door for it. That Kingdom that is very corrupt in Morals and debauch'd, is in a very fair way to embrace that Perswasion ; and generally their Proselites were such as had renounced Christianity in their Practice, before they renounced the Principles thereof as taught in the reformed Churches ; and many Roman Catholicks declar'd, that they would rather have had us profess no Religion at all than the Protestant. In short, whether it was from the Looseness of the Principles of their Religion, or from a Design to gain on Protestants, Impiety, Prophaneness, and Libertinism were highly encouraged and favoured ; and it was observable, that very few came with King *James* into *Ireland* that were remarkable for any Strictness or Severity of Life, but rather, on the other Hand, they were generally signal for the Viciousness and Looseness of their Morals. Sir *Thomas Hacket* confess'd, that in the whole Year 1688, wherein he was Mayor of *Dubl.n*, there was not one Protestant brought before him for Theft, and hardly one for any other Immorality ; whereas he was crowded with Popish Criminals of all sorts : The Perjuries in the Courts, the Robberies in the Country, the lewd Practices in the Stews, the Oaths, Blasphemies, and Curses in the Armies and Streets, the drinking of Confusions and Damnations in the Taverns, were all of them generally the Acts of Papists, or of those who own'd themselves ready to become such if that Party continued uppermost. This universal Viciousness made Discipline impossible ; and whatever Protestants were infected with it, were intirely lost to the Church and their Religion : For the Stress of Salvation, accord-

according to the Principles of the reformed Religion, depends on Virtue and Holiness of Life, without which neither Sorrow for Sin nor Devotion will do a Man any Service; whereas he that hears Mass daily in the Roman Church, kneels often before a Crucifix, and believes firmly that the Roman Church is the Catholick, and that all out of her Communion are damned, makes not the least Doubt of Salvation, tho' he be guilty of habitual Swearing, Drunkenness, and many other Vices: And the Observation of this Indulgence gained them most of those Proselytes that went over to them, of the lewd Women and corrupted Gentry; and many amongst themselves had so great a Sense of this Advantage, that it made them very favourable to Debauchery, and openly profess that they had a much better Opinion of the lewdest Persons that died in their own Communion, than of the strictest and most devout Protestant; and they would often laugh at our scrupling a Sin and our Constancy at Prayers, since, as they would assure us with many Oaths, we must only be damned the deeper for our Diligence: And they could not endure to find us go about to punish Vice in our own Members, since, said they, *It is to no Purpose to trouble your selves about Vice or Virtue, you are out of the Church, and will all be damned.*

TOWARDS the Beginning of these Troubles the Papists boasted much of their Kindness to the Protestant Clergy, in leaving them their Churches. They thought us very unreasonable to complain of our being robb'd or plunder'd, or of the Loss of our Estates, whilst our Churches were left us; and they would not own that they had done any Injury to our Ministers, whilst they had not turn'd them out of those. This was urged upon all Occasions, as an unanswerable Argument that King James intended in Earnest to preserve inviolably that Liberty of Conscience he had promised; but this was, as all their other Promises, a mere Pretence. The Priests told us from the beginning that they would have our Churches, and that they would have Mass in *Christ-Church*, the chief Cathedral in *Dublin*, in a very little Time. We knew well enough

that this was intended, whatever King James and his Ministers averr'd to the contrary: For the same Act of Parliament that they had past to make their Priests and Bishops capable of Preferments and Benefices, did also give them a legal Title to the Churches belonging to those Preferments, as they who drew the Act very well knew: In the mean Time their Affairs were not in such a forward Posture, as to encourage them to seize on those Churches to which they could pretend no Right, tho' some had been seized before the Act passed.

BUT immediately upon the passing of the Act, Duke Schomberg's Landing alarm'd them; and they were in so great Fear of him, that they rather thought of running into *Munster*, or leaving the Kingdom, than of possessing Churches; and therefore they contented themselves with their former Methods for some Time, which was to let the Rabble break into them and deface them, with barbarous and contumelious Circumstances, breaking the Windows, pulling up the Seats, and throwing down the Pulpit, Communion Table, and Rails, and stealing what was portable out of them.

AND in *Dublin* the Government ordered the Churches several times to be seiz'd: First, the Earl of Tyrconnel fill'd them with Soldiers, February 24, 1688, in order to receive the Arms of Protestants; and they were kept, some for a longer, some for a shorter Time, upon this Pretence: Then they ordered them to be seiz'd anew, September 6, 1689, pretending that the Protestants had hid their Arms in them; tho' after all they found no Arms, nor, indeed, were there any hid: Thus far they proceeded whilst their Fear was upon them; resolving, since they could not hope to enjoy them themselves, that they would make them as useleis as they could to Protestants: But when they found that Duke Schomberg stopt at *Dundalk*, and they understood the State of his Army, the Priests took Courage, and in the Months of *October* and *November*, they seized on most of the Churches in the Kingdom.

THE manner of their doing it was thus: The Mayor, or Governour in the Towns, with the Priests, went to the Churches, sent for the Keys to the Sextons, and

if they were found, forced them from them; if not they broke open the Doors, pull'd up the Seats and Reading-Desk, and having said Mass in them, look'd upon them as their own, and said, the King himself had then nothing to do with them, being Consecrated Places; and to alienate them, or give them back to Hereticks, was Sacrilege. In the Country the Militia Captains, or Officers of the Army that chanced to be Quartered in the severall Places, performed the same Part that the Mayors or Governours did in Corporations: Thus *Christ-Church* in *Dublin* was seized by *Lutterel* the Governour, and about Twenty Six Churches and Chappels in the Diocess of *Dublin*.

OF this, Protestants complained to King *James*, as a great violation of his own Act for Liberty of Conscience, in which it is expressly provided, That they should have Liberty to meet in such Churches, Chappels, and other Places as they shall have for that Purpose. They further represented to him, That all the Churches of *Ireland* were in a manner ruined in the late War in 1641, That it was with great Difficulty and Cost that the Protestants had new built, or repaired them; That many were built by private Persons on their own Cost; and that the *Roman-Catholicks* had no Pretence or Title to them. But his Majesty answered, That they were seiz'd in his Absence at the Camp, without his Knowledge or Consent: That nevertheless he was so much obliged to his *Roman Catholick* Clergy, that he must not disposses them: That they alledged a Title to the Churches that they had seiz'd; and if the Protestants thought their Title was better, they must bring their Action, and endeavour to recover their Possessions by Law.

THIS Answer was what the Attorney General had suggested to him; and the Reader will perceive that the whole was a piece of Deceit: That the pretence of the Churches being seiz'd whilst his Majesty was absent, was a meer Collusion, and that there could not be a more false Suggestion, than that the Papists had any Right to the Churches, or a more unjust thing, than to put the Protestants on recovering a Possession, by a Suit at Law, which was gotten from them by so open Violence: But this was the Justice we look'd for, and

and constantly met with from him; and therefore there being no Remedy to be expected, we were forced to acquiesce.

ONLY to colour the Matter a little, and least this should make too great a Noise in England and Scotland, where King James at this time had very encouraging Hopes, he issued out a Proclamation, December 13, 1689. in which he acknowledges, That the seizing of Churches was a violation of the Act for Liberty of Conscience; yet doth not order any Restitution, only forbids them to seize any more. They had in many places notice of this Proclamation before it came out, and therefore were more diligent to get into the remaining Churches: For they look'd on the Proclamation as a Confirmation of their Possessions, which they had before the publishing of it; and in some places the Popish Officers kept it from being published till they had done their Work: The Protestants not being allowed to go out of their Parishes, could not come by it, till it pleas'd their Popish Neighbours to produce it; and so it prov'd, like other Proclamations of his Majesty in favour of his Protestant Subjects, it was not publish'd till the Inconveniency it pretended to prevent was brought upon them, and the Mischief actually executed; and it made their Enemies more hasty and diligent to do it, than otherwise they would have been, least they should slip the time, and lose the opportunity.

• BUT after all, some were too late, and the Protestants got sight of the Proclamation before their Churches were seiz'd: But here the Priests put off their Vizors, and acted bare-faced; they told the People, The King had nothing to do with them or their Churches; That they were immediately under the Pope, and that they would neither regard him nor his Proclamations or Laws made to the damage of Holy Church.

• NOW here we had a full demonstration, what the Liberty of Conscience would come to, with which King James thought to have amused Protestants, and of which he boasted so unmeasurably, if once Popery had gotten the upper Hand: He and his Parliament might have made Acts for it, if they pleas'd; but we

see here that the Clergy would have told them, that they meddled with what did not concern them, and that they had no power to make Acts about Religious Matters, or dispose of the Rights of Holy Church ; and we see from this Experiment who would have been obeyed. We found here upon tryal, that when King James would have kept his Word to us, it was not in his power to do it ; and that his frequently repeated Promises, and his Act of Parliament for Liberty of Conscience, could not prevent the demolishing, defacing, or seizing Nine Churches in Ten through the Kingdom ; and discovered to us, That the Act for Liberty of Conscience was only design'd to destroy the Establish'd Church, and not that Protestants should have the Benefit of it.

HAVING taken away our Churches and publick Places of Meeting, the next thing was to hinder our Religious Assemblies. It is observable, that the Act of their pretended Parliament for Liberty of Conscience, promises *full and free Exercise of their respective Religions, to all that profess Christianity within the Kingdom, without any molestation, loss, or penalty whatsoever* : But assigns no Punishment to such as shall disturb any in their Religious Exercises ; and there was good reason for that Omission ; for by this means they had left their Officers and Soldiers at liberty to disturb the Religious Assemblies of Protestants, without fear of being call'd to any Account.

BY the Act, an open, free and uninterrupted access was to be left into every Assembly ; and they commonly had their Emissaries in every Church, to see if they could find any thing to object against the Preacher : But the Ministers did not fear any thing could be objected even by Malice on this Account ; and therefore when they found they were not like to make much of this, they let it fail ; and the Officers and Soldiers came into the Churches in time of Divine Service, or in time of Sermons, and made a Noise ; sometimes threatening the Ministers, sometimes Cursing, sometimes Swearing, and sometimes affronting or assaulting Women, and picking occasions of Quarrels with the Men, and committing many Disorders.

IN the Country where Churches were taken from the Protestants, they met in private Houses; and where their Ministers were gone, and their Maintenance feiz'd, others undertook the Cures *gratis*, or were maintain'd by the voluntary Contributions of the People: So that there appear'd no probabiltiy, that Protestantism would be destroy'd without Violence. The Papists saw this, and therefore watched an opportunity to begin it. On the 6th of September, 1689, upon pretence of a Case of Pistols and a Sword found in some out-part of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, they lockt it up for a Fortnight, and suffered no Service to be in it. On the 27th of October they took it to themselves, and hindred Protestants to Officiate any more in it. On the 13th of September, on pretence of some Ships seen in the Bay of *Dublin*, they forbad all Protestants to go to Church, or assemble in any place of Divine Service. July the 13th, 1689, there issued out a Proclamation, forbidding Protestants to go out of their Parishes; one design of this was to hinder their Assemblies at Religious Duties: For in *Ireland* generally two or three Parishes have but one Church, and consequently by this, one Half were confined from the Service of God through the Kingdom. June 1690, Colonel *Lutterel*, Governoour of *Dublin*, issued out his Order, forbidding more than Five Protestants to Meet together on Pain of Death. He was ask'd, whether this was design'd to hinder meeting at Churches? It was answered, that it was design'd to hinder their Meeting there, as well as in other Places; and in Execution of this, all the Churches were shut up, and all Religious Assemblies through the Kingdom forbidden under pain of Death; and we were assured, That if King *James* had returned victorious from the *Boyne*, it was resolved that they should never have been opened any more for us; and the same Excuse would have served for his permitting this that serv'd him the former Year, for not restoring the Churches taken away in his Absence at the former Camp, even that he must not disoblige his Roman-Catholick Clergy. Thus God gave them Opportunity to shew what they intended against our Religion, even to take away all our Churches, and hinder all our Religious

gious Assemblies ; and when they had brought their Liberty of Conscience to this, and we had been obliged, upon Pain of Death, to forbear all publick Worship for a Fortnight, then he sent us Deliverance by means of King William's Victory at the *Boyne*, which restored us the Liberty of worshipping God together, as well as the Use of our Churches.

BUT all these Methods of ruining the Protestant Religion seemed tedious to the Priests ; and therefore they could not be prevailed with to abstain from Violence ; wherever they had a fair Opportunity to use it, they applied it with all Diligence. Several Protestant Women were married to Papists ; many of these used unmerciful Severities to their Wives, and endeavoured by Hardships and Unkindness to weary the poor Women out of their Religion ; some stript them of their Cloaths, kept them some Days without Meat or Drink, beat them grievously, and at last, when they could not prevail, turned them out of their Houses, and refused to let them live with them. Some sold off all that they had, turned it into Money, and left their Wives and Children to beg, for no other Reason but because they would not forsake their Religion : And this Carriage was encouraged by the Priests, which came to be discovered on this Occasion : Some Women that were thus used were advised by their Friends to make their Application to their Husband's Confessors, and they imagined the Confessors would lay their Command on the Men to be more civil, and to do the Duty of Husbands to their Wives. But the Priests told the Women, That it was their own Faults that their Husbands used them ill ; that they deserved it, and must expect no better whilst they continued disobedient to them, and refused to comply in the Matter of Religion : And when the poor Women replied, That in Conscience they could not change their Religion, being persuaded of the Truth of it, the Priests railed at them, and abused them almost as much as their own Husbands. Servants were used the same way by their Popish Masters, and Tenants by their Landlords ; every Office, or Profit, or Trust was made a Temptation ; and a Man, whatever his Circumstances

cumstances were, must either part with it or his Religion. We were told that the King would have all that did eat his Bread of his own Religion; the Meaning of which was, that he expected all who were employed by him should turn Papists.

I reckon all the Robberies and Plunderings committed on the Country Gentlemen to be on the same Account; a Man might have saved his Horses, his Cows, his Sheep, and Household Goods, if he would have changed his Religion; if not, he must expect to be ruined by Thieves and Robbers, set on by the Priests, and encouraged by his Popish Neighbours; which was no way to be prevented, but by going to Mass.

WHEN it fared thus with the Laity, we may imagine the Clergy were in ill Circumstances: Whoever escaped, they were sure to be robbed and plundered; they were often affronted and assaulted: The very Protestant Bishops could not escape Violence: The Bishop of Laughlin's House was broken open and plundered before he left the Kingdom: The Bishop of Waterford's House was rifled, and the Bishop, an old Man about Fourscore Years of Age, desperately wounded in his Bed. Several of the inferior Clergy were beaten and abused, way-laid as they travelled the High-way, shot at and wounded, and with Difficulty escaped with their Lives; some were so beaten, that they died upon it; some had their Houses set on Fire; and in general the Protestant Parishioners were so apprehensive of the Danger in which many of their Ministers were, that they besought them to withdraw themselves out of it; They had threatening Messages often sent to them, the Robbers of the Country would send them word That at such a Time, or such a Night they would be with them; and sometimes they would be very punctual to their Assigntion, and strip the poor Men and their Families of their very Cloaths.

THOSE that staid among their Parishioners in the Country were forced to walk from House to House to perform their Offices, their Horses being all taken from them: At last they were generally put into Prison with the other Gentlemen of the Country, and some kept in for twelve or thirteen Months, not being releas'd till the

the general Deliverance: Some were tried for their Lives, and some condemned to Death, even in the City of Dublin under the Eye of the Government; hardly one escaped Affronts and Abuses, or could walk the Streets with Quiet; the Soldiers, especially the French, railed at them, calling them, *Diables des Ministres Heretiques; un Protestant, un Diable*; with many other contumelious Expressions.

NEW Arts were invented to defame and vex them: In some Places a new invented Oath was offered to them, for which there was no Pretence or Law. They answered, That they had taken the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance at their Institution, and that they were not obliged to take any other Oath: But that Excuse would not serve; and on their Refusal they were sent to Goal. The Priests were very busy about sick Protestants; they with great Impudence thrust into their Rooms, and if they were past speaking, they gave out that they were Converts: If the infirm Person had any Popish Relations, they besieged the House, and hindred the Protestant Clergy from coming to their Parishioners: The Priests pretended that they had King James's Command to visit the Sick, and attempt their Conversion, and therefore would not be hindred nor be perswaded to withdraw, though frequently desired by the sick Men. The Protestant Clergy were often affronted and threatened on this Account, and the Ill-will they procured on particular Occasions of this Nature, was the Ground of some of their Confinement afterwards; for the Priest that lost his Prey (as they reckoned every sick Person) by the vigorous Opposition and Diligence of a Minister, was sure to contrive a Revenge one Way or other.

The CONCLUSION.

AND here I do solemnly protest, That no private Satisfaction, that no ill-will to King James's Person, nor Prejudice against any Body, has moved me to say what I have said; but that I might vindicate ourselves by speaking Truth in a Matter that so nearly concern'd us, both in our Temporal and Eternal Interest. And I must likewise protest before God, who will judge be-

between us and our Enemies in this Point, that I have not aggravated the Calamities we have suffered, nor misrepresented the Proceedings against us, out of Favour or Affection to a Party; but have rather told things nakedly and in general, than insisted on such Particulars as might seem to serve no other Purpose, but to make our Adversaries odious.

UPON the Whole, the *Irish* may justly blame themselves and their Idol, the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, as King *James* may them both, for whatever they suffered in the Issue of this Matter, since it is apparent that the Necessity was brought about by them, that either They or We must be ruin'd. King *James* (if the Earl of *Tyrconnel* may be believed) changed his Religion on His Sollicitations, (for he often bragg'd, that he was the King's Converter.) He preferr'd the gratifying this Favourite's Ambition, to the Affections of his Protestant Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*. He left *England* and came into *Ireland* on his Invitation; and he brought Ruin and Desolation on the Kingdom, especially on his Protestant Subjects, in Prosecution of the Measures laid down by him; yet so far was he in love with this Minister, that he frequently, both in his Proclamations and Acts of Parliament, ascribes the saving of *Ireland* to him; and assigned him above the Value of Twenty Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, to support his new Title of Duke, out of the forfeited Estates of Protestants, most of them condemned unheard, on publick Fame only. This Person therefore was the true Enemy of King *James*; he drove his Master out of his Kingdoms, he destroy'd him by his pernicious Councils, and the Kingdom of *Ireland* by his exorbitant and illegal Management; and therefore he and such other wicked Counsellors and Ministers, are only answerable for all the Mischiefs that have follow'd; and it is much more reasonable the Destruction should fall on them who were the Authors, than on the Protestants against whom they designed it.

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